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THE PROBLEM OF MEASURING SOCIAL TREATMENT

IT IS an American habit, when something goes wrong, to concoct a special plan for dealing with it—pass a law, form a committee, adopt a scheme. But after the law is passed, the committee formed, the scheme in operation, our interest slackens, until something reminds us that the troubles are not, after all, remedied; when we again pass a law, form a committee, adopt a scheme, which again may prove ineffective.

What we should do is to follow up our law, committee, or scheme, observe its operations, measure its results, and take our next action on the basis of past experience.

This is especially necessary in the field of social work. How many plans have been adopted on the assumption that certain procedures would bring desirable results! How few have been tested to see how far the assumptions on which they are based have been verified!

This is perhaps the most important job before the social work profession at the present time: to undertake the measurement of effectiveness of social treatment and the study of causes of success and failure.

But this is no easy job. Its difficulties are enormous. The object of study itself is not easily analyzed.

What is "social treatment"? An indefinitely numerous, heterogeneous, and overlapping assortment of activities, ranging from sim-

ple acts which may be definitely described, named, and counted, to intricate series of processes, involving motives and attitudes, which defy analysis and seem completely to bar out counting.

What is "success"? Not a concrete thing, or condition, or circumstance, but an evaluation of a tangled complex of conditions and circumstances.

What are the causes of success or failure? Success in the individual life is not simply the sum of the favorable conditions experienced by the individual; it is the result of the action of the conditions upon him and his reaction to them. We must then take into account his nature and character as factors in the result, as well as the treatment administered. And certainly the analysis of human nature and character is no simple affair.

It is no wonder that we have fought shy of this undertaking. And yet because it is so necessary, one intrepid soul after another is grappling with it, and a study of their efforts is of great value, not simply for the conclusions they reach, but for the help they can give in the work of developing methods of investigation progressively more adequate to meet the difficulties involved in this type of inquiry. A noteworthy piece of work in this direction is recorded in a recent book² by Dr. Healy and Dr. Bronner in the field of juvenile delinquency.

In this book the authors have turned from their intensive study of single cases of juvenile delinquency to attempt a statistical measurement of the effectiveness of treatment. They point out the absurdity of going on, year after year, ordering the same methods of treatment without stopping to inventory their effectiveness, and claim that the present study is a first attempt to estimate just what has actually been accomplished through society's handling of some groups of offenders. Through the study they have endeavored to learn the actual outcome—the success or failure in adult life—of certain juvenile offenders, and to relate these outcomes to attendant circumstances, the type of treatment given, and the characteristics and experiences other than treatment of the children.

² William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals; Their Making and Unmaking; Studies in Two American Cities*. Judge Baker Foundation Publication No. 3. New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. viii+317. \$3.50.

Affording the basic material for this study are three groups of juvenile repeated offenders with later careers traced: from Chicago, a series of 920 boys and girls studied by the authors in their clinic in Chicago in 1909-14 and followed up in a special research in 1921-23; from Boston, a series of 400 young male offenders who appeared in the juvenile court in 1909-14, whose careers were studied in 1923 in relation to further delinquency; and a series of 400 boys, also repeated offenders, originally studied by the authors in Boston in 1918-19, and known to them in their after careers through the regular following up of cases. First offenders were not chosen because, in the opinion of the authors, their delinquencies sometimes are accidental or so slight that the offender in essence or by intent is non-delinquent. Groups from two cities were chosen because of the "value of comparison as scientific method."

As the main purpose of studying outcomes was to test the effectiveness of treatment, the cases were selected so as to be within the limits in which treatment would have a chance to work and to show its effects.

The individuals chosen for study in the Chicago series were not above the juvenile court age at the time of first acquaintance with them by the authors, and were cared for by the juvenile court or through agencies dealing with juveniles. Furthermore, they were old enough at the time of the study to be well above the juvenile age, so that there was a chance to judge of the outcome. The average age of the group at the time of the study of outcomes was approximately twenty-five years. All cases had been dealt with by the juvenile court, and no cases were included that were under the care of the court for only short periods, such as those of runaway boys.

The Boston cases were selected within similar age limits. The individuals studied were at least two years above juvenile court age; they were also chosen to be as like as possible to the Chicago group in the offenses committed. Cases of trivial offenses, such as selling fruit without a license or playing ball on the street, were ruled out. Nothing is said about age limits at the time outcome was recorded, or about the average age of the group, so that we do not know whether individuals younger than the age limit adopted for the Chicago study were included or eliminated.

Before turning to the results of this study we should know how the authors define and measure "success" and "failure," and how they measure "treatment."

It was not possible, they thought, to estimate success and failure on too fine a scale. For the Chicago series, outcome was counted as success when the individual was found to be living in the community without known detriment to the community and had engaged in no criminality; as failure, if the individuals had an adult court record, or were shown to be an actual drag on the community—vagrants, excessive drinkers, extreme loafers, grossly immoral.

Of the 920 boys and girls chosen for study in the Chicago group, 162 were not found in the follow-up inquiry to learn outcomes; 83 more were not recorded as either successes or failures, because they had died, or were in non-correctional institutions, or the result was indefinite, leaving 675 estimated in terms of success or failure.

We are not informed so completely as to the standard of success and failure used in the Boston cases. From the statistical tables, however, we infer that only failures are recorded, and that "failure" meant adult court record only. This is the reason why girls were not included in the Boston group. Girls who are failures relatively seldom appear in the adult court. And in the tables for the Boston group no account is given of cases "not found," in institutions, or of indifferent success.

In respect to treatment also only gross adjustments were considered—commitments to institutions, placement in foster homes, probation, rather than the more subjective influences brought to bear—because while the latter knowledge was more valuable, it was impossible to secure it within the limits of the study.

As a result of the study the authors conclude that "the long array of data gathered in this book offers convincing evidence that the treatment of juvenile delinquency by some prevailing methods is followed by an amount and extremity of failure that is appalling."

The Chicago series shows 61 per cent of the 420 boys and 46 per cent of the 255 girls in the group of 675 for whom success or failure was recorded, rated as failures, comprising both adult court record and other forms of failure. The failures among the boys with adult court records only were 50 per cent of the 420 boys.

The Boston group of the same period as the Chicago group (1909-14), all males, shows 21 per cent of failures, judged by adult court records only, which rate is compared, not to the 61 per cent failures of the Chicago boys including all types of failure, but to the 50 per cent with adult court records only.

This difference indicates to the authors the possibility that failures may be less extensive and less severe than in Chicago.

As to the relation between treatment and outcome, it is stated that a large proportion of the Chicago males had been at some time committed to juvenile correctional institutions, and of these a large share had become adult offenders; hence, that the treatment undertaken by the state accomplished very little of its avowed purpose.

In the Boston group a smaller proportion than in Chicago had been committed, and a smaller percentage of those committed had appeared as adult offenders.

It is not claimed by the authors, however, that difference in institutional régime is solely responsible for the great differences in outcomes in those sent to juvenile institutions in the two communities. They point out that there is, in particular, a marked difference in the two cities in the work done under parole. Often in Boston this means placing in foster homes. Nor should it be concluded, they say, that non-commitment alone is a better procedure; we must take into consideration what influences are actually at work on the child.

From the data on background—age at first court appearance, nativity of parents, religious affiliation, whether or not families are normally constituted, family economic status, physical and mental conditions of the offender, character of the offenses—the authors conclude that none of these to any large extent show significant differentiation between the success and failure groups.

The conclusions from the statistical data, then, are mainly negative. Significant differences in background related to difference in outcome are not shown; differences in outcome according to type of treatment are shown, but not according to actual processes used. In fact, the authors show themselves rather skeptical about the statistical method generally. They say that statistical studies cannot readily present the complete picture of delinquent causations, and

that for treatment "no great generalizations about dealing with delinquents in groups are possible."

Some positive conclusions drawn are that because causative forces are complex, a wide range of resources in treatment is needed. Commonly, they say, set forms of treatment are supposed to be adequate for meeting all types of individuals. But "ascertainable facts make it evident that in our group the separate needs of individual offenders were not and could not thus be met. And this is doubtless a major cause of the large percentage of failure." "From all this, it is a fair deduction that as a whole the treatment of delinquents is unwarrantably inefficient."

It is too bad that, after making so elaborate a statistical study, after heaping up so many tables, counting and comparing so many groups and subgroups, the authors should derive mainly negative results from them, and turn for their positive conclusions to an assumed residual remainder that the data do not show.

According to them, since Boston shows a lower rate of failure than Chicago, greater success is possible than is reached in Chicago. What is the reason for the difference? It does not lie in the type of treatment, nor is it found in the background of the child as shown in the statistics. It must be found, then, according to our authors, in a difference in degree of individual adjustment of actual treatment to actual background.

How far is this conclusion valid, and how far is it helpful, even if valid? We still must ask, What are the factors in the background to be dealt with? What are the appropriate means of meeting them in treatment? And how can these be known without an assembling of experience and a counting of instances, which is, after all, what the statistical method amounts to? Take the conclusion that "the treatment of delinquents is unwarrantably inefficient." "Unwarrantably" is true only if something can be done to produce good results, and we know what it is and do not do it.

Is it true that 100 per cent success in the sense used in this book, as adjustment to the community without known detriment to it, would be possible by adjusting treatment to individual needs? Is it true that there is a remedy for every case? If not, to what extent is failure "warrantable"? This is a statistical question, to be solved

only by comparative studies of results as conditioned by background and treatment.

This is, in fact, the only way of telling whether factors are unfavorable—Do they, or do they not, in fact, operate against success in so many instances that we may conclude that conflicting and unknown factors are eliminated?

Notwithstanding the generally negative conclusions from the statistics and the general disavowal of the value of the statistical method as a means of getting at the heart of the problem, made by the authors, we have left on our hands as a positive statistical result a difference in rates between two cities which is not explained by the statistics here presented, which arouses curiosity, and will be used by the average reader to the general discredit of the high-rate city.

Let us examine the data and see whether the comparisons made and the conclusions drawn, not only about the comparative rates of Boston and Chicago, but about other matters, may not need modification. In the first place, is outcome measured as completely for Boston as for Chicago, and is the proportion of successes and failures computed in the same way?

It has been noted that the Chicago group included as failures some children who had no adult court records; but comparisons between Boston and Chicago were made on the basis of adult court record only, as was proper.

But was the reporting of adult court record equally complete in both cities? In Chicago the adult court record was secured by intensive personal follow-up work by a staff of trained field investigators under expert direction, generously financed by Mrs. W. F. Dummer, to whom we must all be grateful for the support she is always ready to give to research. These field workers visited homes, consulted official records, and obtained facts from unofficial social agencies. The trail of cases was followed even over the state line.

The Boston outcomes were secured from official records alone, and we are not told what resources were used to secure them.

The authors claim that the account of failures for Boston is even more complete than for Chicago because of the completeness of the Boston records. But some of us who have tried to gather information

from court records only, even in Massachusetts, feel skepticism on this point.

We have to remember, also, certain differences in methods of recording court appearances. In Massachusetts, for example, there exists a method of noting the disposition of certain cases in certain courts as "on file," in which instance they are not of record. The authors have not told us of this complication, and whether it was a hindrance in their search or not. If the Boston record was less complete than the authors thought, their record of failure is too low. We are not told, furthermore, whether the rate of failure was computed on the same basis for Boston and for Chicago. Failure in Chicago was the ratio to the total cases of success or failure, 675 in number, out of the group of 920 originally selected for study.

As far as we can learn from the description of method, in the Boston cases only failures were counted, through search of the records. Were "successes" the remainder, without search to see how many had dropped from sight, were dead or in some institution? If so, the ratio of failure was proportionately too high for Chicago. Boys with adult court records were only 37 per cent of the total number of Chicago boys selected for study. If the Boston group included boys of unknown outcome or in institutions, this 37 per cent should be the ratio to compare with Boston's 21 per cent, instead of the 50 per cent based on known cases of successes or failure.

Furthermore, if the average age of the four hundred Boston boys was lower than that of the Chicago boys at the time of studying outcomes, again the record for Boston would be relatively too low, because less time would have been allowed for a court record to be incurred.

Should the conclusions of the authors about background factors be modified? A considerable number of the tables have to do with backgrounds, but the greater part of them are for Chicago cases only. But they are used as tests of comparability of the Chicago group with Boston, on the ground that if a given factor is not correlated with the outcome in Chicago, it may be inferred that a different proportion of this factor in the Boston cases, should it exist, would not affect the rate of failure.

If a significant difference for any factor should be shown, it

would then be necessary to show that the proportion of that factor in the Boston cases was the same. This the authors have undertaken to do.

On studying these tables, however, the reader is puzzled by the interpretation given them in the text. One cannot see what principle has guided the authors. Have they, for example, taken into account any method of estimating probable error, based upon the numbers in the subgroups on which their ratios are based? These subgroups are sometimes very small.

It would appear that error due to small numbers was considered from the fact that the general conclusion that background is shown to have little correlation with outcome agrees in general with results gained by computing errors for the tables. But in the text comment on tables the authors make no allusion to any such computation. The method followed seems to be to quote the percentages shown, or their differences, as in themselves important or unimportant, but with no indication why they are so.

There appears throughout the comment a curious insistence on 50 per cent as a standard by which other ratios are compared, as "above" or "below" with respect to outcome. Why 50 per cent is selected we cannot tell. In comment on Table XXV we are told that differences in outcome according to nationality are so "slight as to be negligible, the greatest difference in outcome (except for the colored, a group so small as to have comparatively little reliability) being only 8 per cent." In Table XXX the differences in outcome according to religious belief are "astonishingly small," "never larger than 10 per cent." For Table XL it is pointed out that a larger amount of success is attained by persons with normal family history, but that the difference between them and those with abnormal mentality in the family (who have the lowest rate of success in the non-normal group) is "not very great," "only 17 per cent better measure of success." These differences would certainly be significant if the groups were large enough to reduce the probabilities of error to negligible terms. And the conclusion should not be merely that significant differences are not shown, but that the differences shown are not significant owing to the paucity of data.

On the other hand, in some instances positive conclusions are

drawn from such small numbers that differences are wiped out by computation of probable error. For example, the conclusion that destitution increases the chance of failure and "luxury" seems to increase the chance for success is based upon thirty-five cases of destitution and twenty-five cases of "luxury." Again, with regard to bad physical habits, comment is made that 70 per cent of the fifty-seven males who were excessive masturbators in the Chicago series turned out to be failures, while of the twenty-seven girls, 63 per cent were successes, "a reversal of findings for which there may be physiological and other explanations." One other explanation would be that the differences are not significant. The rate for the boys, compared with their general rate, and the rate for the girls, also compared with their general rate, is about the same, and the differences so small that the probable error more than covers them. Another conclusion, with regard to type of offense, is that 82 per cent of failure for homosexual cases of boys appears "tremendous and highly significant." This conclusion is based upon seventeen cases.

The conclusions of the authors seem justified that differences in type of treatment alone are not responsible for the differences in outcome between Boston and Chicago. For Chicago the boys committed showed 70 per cent failure; for Boston, however, the boys committed showed only 29 per cent failure, while the rate of failure for the non-committed Chicago boys was 34 per cent. Are we reduced then to concluding that the difference must be due to some inadequacy of treatment not defined but assumed because of the fact of failure?

There is another possibility. Our authors insist that treatment should be adjusted to individual needs, and that needs are different; and they admit that the human material is different, although the statistical tables failed to reveal any of consequence. They note (p. 210) that "some conditions and some personalities may be more difficult of correction than others," that "some few combinations of conditions and personality present almost insurmountable obstacles to reform of the individual," that "it can be predicted with reasonable certainty that some individuals, by virtue of their mental characteristics plus their acquired delinquent trends, under ordinary living conditions will continue in delinquency and crime."

They thus admit the possibility of combinations of character and experiences in which success is difficult of attainment, and may not occur at all. Is it not likely that in any community will be found examples of gradation of these combinations, from the most favorable to the most unfavorable? May it not be possible that the distribution of these combinations in Chicago is much the same as in Boston, but that the Chicago cases are selected in greater proportion from the more unfavorable combinations? If so, we should expect a higher rate of failure for the Chicago cases, aside from any question of treatment.

The authors tried to avoid this kind of selection by restricting the study to repeated offenders in both groups, and by rejecting petty offenders from both. But there is reason to think that these precautions were not sufficient. Even repeaters may be of different degrees of delinquency. It is not easy, or perhaps even possible, to grade delinquent tendency by the type of offense committed.

There are some positive reasons for thinking selection has been at work. We find a clew in the relation of population to volume of juvenile delinquency in the two cities. In proportion to the population there are four times as many court appearances of juveniles in Boston as in Chicago. To quote our authors: "Either Boston had very many more delinquents in proportion, or heard in its juvenile court types of cases which do not get into the Chicago court. The latter is the fact." That is, in choosing groups for study the field drawn upon in Boston affords a much larger proportion of light cases than Chicago. Furthermore, the Chicago group was made up from clinic cases, which themselves represent a selection of "harder cases" from a total of comparatively hard cases, because the clinic cases are those that social workers find to be especial problems and refer to the clinic for that reason.

The Boston group of cases used for comparisons with Chicago cases of 1909-14 were, apparently, not clinic cases, hence did not represent that sort of selection.

The second Boston group were clinic cases. They show a higher percentage of failure, which may be due to the after-effects of war, as the authors suggest, or a chance variation due to small numbers, or to a selection through study at a clinic. In any case the field of

selection was broader. If there was a general run of lighter cases in the Boston court than in Chicago, the cases in the Boston clinic would naturally be lighter than those in the Chicago clinic.

The fact also that the Boston group chosen for study was selected not from all Boston cases, but from the cases of one independent court, drawing on a small, comparatively dense neighborhood, from which it is easy to bring children to court, whereas the Chicago group was selected from a central court drawing on the entire area of Chicago, and to which access is not so easy in a physical sense, indicates that perhaps more of the light offenders would be taken to the Boston court than to the Chicago court.

Certainly a difference between the Boston and Chicago cases in the seriousness of early delinquency—not alone in the adult outcome—is admitted by the authors. They point out that statistics given for juvenile offenses show that delinquents in Chicago are guilty of worse types of offenses when they first appear in court. For the selected cases they find it “impossible to decide whether the much greater proportion of success in Massachusetts is due to more effective institutional treatment, or to the fine parole work done afterward, or to both, or to the fact that through extremely serious early delinquency the Chicago boys had already a set which was harder to overcome.” Again: “We are thoroughly convinced . . . that the delinquencies of Boston juvenile offenders are vastly milder in nature than those committed by juvenile delinquents in Chicago.” In the Boston series there were no cases of robbery or hold-ups, as there were in the Chicago series.

Just what weight all these considerations may have, certainly enough doubt is raised as to the comparability of the Boston and Chicago groups as to leave us in the dark as to the real meaning of the difference in rates shown. And, even if it be true that there is a successful “treatment” for every case, and that any degree of “failure” is unwarrantable, we are also left in the dark as to principles of treatment.

All the help we get toward that planning of efficacious treatment which was the purpose of the authors in assembling the data presented here is found in some general comparisons between the Boston and Chicago court systems and a special comment on the bad influ-

ence of detention homes. "One wonders," say the authors, "if the difference in methods concerning detention is not a fundamental feature in the whole delinquency situation in the two cities."

When we learn from the summary of court methods on the same page that the average length of stay for the boys (with 61 per cent of failure) was seven days, for the girls (with 46 per cent of failure) was eleven days in the Chicago home, we wonder how the authors make out their point and why seven and eleven days, respectively, of a detention home should outweigh the various enumerated background factors which are not shown to have an effect, although they have extended over the major part of the child's life.

We do get substantial help from this study, however, toward seeing more clearly what difficulties are involved in trying to provide a fact basis for the improvement of social treatment, and a stimulus toward picking up the job where the authors have laid it down in this book and carrying it on further in the light of their experiences.

KATE HOLLADAY CLAGHORN

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

WOMEN AT WORK ON CHICAGO TRUCK FARMS

AN INTERESTING survival of the employment of women and children in agriculture will be found in the truck-garden sections of a metropolitan area. In the following study an attempt is made to describe the conditions of women's work in the trucking districts of the Chicago region.¹

The time of the study includes the heaviest parts of the truck-farming season. A large proportion of the women work for only a few days during the season. Consequently, in order to obtain a fair picture of the women workers, they were interviewed regardless of the time they had spent on truck farms. Not all the women working on each farm were always interviewed, sometimes because of the conditions of their work, but oftener because of a language difficulty. Many women spoke no English; often other workers were unwilling to act as interpreters; and, though provision was made for interviewing women of the nationalities most frequently encountered, an occasional woman was found with whom it was impossible to converse.

DESCRIPTION OF FARMS AND CHARACTER OF WORK

The farms on which women were interviewed were scattered over the trucking area, a few in each of the districts selected for the study of children's work outside the city, and some outside of these areas. Women were interviewed on thirty-seven farms, of which number, thirty are in the northern part of the county; three are within the city limits, on South State Street between Eighty-fourth and Ninety-second streets; and four are in the southern part of the county. Two of these last farms are within the district around South Holland; on one of them asparagus and sugar beets were grown, with women from Hammond, Indiana, as workers; on the other, onions and aspar-

¹ This study was carried on in the summer and early fall of 1924. The United States Children's Bureau made a study of the employment of children in the truck gardens almost simultaneously. Since the Children's Bureau study included girls up to sixteen years of age, this study includes only girls of sixteen or older and adult women. The study of the employment of children will be found in *U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 168*.



WEEDING ONIONS



ONION FIELD AT TWISTING TIME



PICKING PICKLES



AFTERNOON "LUNCH HOUR"

agus were grown, with migratory families as laborers. The third South Side farm is a large onion and asparagus farm far south of the city, on which Italian women from Chicago Heights were working; and the fourth is far west of the city, a very large onion farm on which are employed huge groups of women and children from the southern sections of Chicago. A number of the northern farms, too, were on the very outskirts of the district included in the studies, the largest farm visited in the entire inquiry being farthest to the northwest.

All these farms, as well as those on which children were interviewed, were within five miles of the city. A larger proportion, however, were near the outskirts of the truck-farming area, probably because a larger proportion of the interviews with women took place late in the season, when extra laborers are employed only on the larger farms, which are farther away from the city where land is less expensive than near the subdivisions. Like the farms on which children were interviewed, only the southern farms were highly specialized, the additional city and northern farms being diversified; all for which the information was obtained raised more than five crops.

The farms on which only women were interviewed were considerably larger than the other farms visited. The average acreage of the eleven farms, additional to those in the other study, for which acreage was reported, was 45.5, while the average for the farms on which children were interviewed was 27.9; and the average acreage in truck crops was 38.3 on the additional farms and 19.3 for the others. The proportion on which only truck crops were grown was also larger, seven of the eleven for which a report was secured being used for no other crops.

The work on these farms is irregular; extra help is needed at uncertain intervals on the diversified farms for short periods when the various crops are in need of weeding or harvesting; and on the farms on which many acres are devoted to one crop, large numbers of workers are necessary to take care of the work at the less frequent but longer periods when these important crops reach critical stages of their growth. The women often work in large groups, directed by a man as "row-boss." They work often in straight lines stretching across a field, and each woman weeds or harvests two rows of plants

at a time. They may be discerned far across the fields by the white headdresses which give a picturesque aspect to the group when nearer at hand. Many workers work for only a day now and then during the summer, or for only a few days at a time during the harvesting of an important crop. The northern district is especially adapted to this casual sort of worker, as is the custom of obtaining workers at the end of the city street-car lines at Jefferson Park, where forty-three of the fifty wage-earners on North Side farms are accustomed to go to obtain work. There the farmers go with their automobiles or trucks early in the morning and take away as many helpers as they need for that particular day from the group which happens to be there. The wages also are determined each morning according to the demand for workers and the supply on hand. On mornings when there is an over-supply of workers, the trucks of the farmers, at least those who are popular employers, may be overloaded with people. Both the method of securing workers and the sort of work performed are illustrated by the following account of one day on a farm on which a number of women were interviewed. This farmer told of sending his big red truck to Jefferson expecting to pick up twenty women for the day. Many wanted work; all piled on the truck who could find room; and when the truck arrived at the farm, he found he had thirty-two women and the husbands of two of them. On their arrival the women were given breakfast of coffee and bread-and-butter sandwiches, and were set to picking pickles. It was so muddy that several of the women lost their shoes in the mud, which swallowed the shoes so completely that the women were unable to recover them, necessitating their working the rest of the day in bare feet. One woman explained that it would take \$5.00 to replace the shoes, and her wage for the day was \$3.00. Because of the pressure of work the women were kept nine hours "in the pickles," until all were gathered. Then the workers were put in the onion field for the rest of their eleven-hour day. Usually, the farmer explained, they would be changed after three hours in the cucumbers, as the change in posture is a relief. In picking pickles from the vines the women stoop and straighten up with each handful picked, while in twisting onion sets they sit on the ground. Today, therefore, they were too tired when started at the onions to do good work. In addition to a warm lunch

at noon, they were given a lunch at nine-thirty and at three, which is exactly like their breakfast, and is brought to them in the field, so that the rest is not more than ten minutes long. They turn their baskets upside down and sit on them. They go back to work with zest, however; and, unlike the children, who welcome every opportunity to stop work for a few minutes, it is difficult to persuade the women to stop long enough to answer questions, even though it is explained to them that they do not lose money by doing so, as they are paid daily wages. It is easy to see, in this connection, why some farmers prefer women to children as workers and why all pay children only by the piece, though they may pay adults by the day. At a little after five o'clock the new truck started back to the end of the car line with its load of workers, starting them on their journey home.

TYPE OF WORKERS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WORK

Ninety-two women were interviewed on the thirty-seven farms, seventy of them on the thirty northern farms, fifteen on the four South Side farms, and seven on the three city farms. Sixty-seven of those interviewed were day laborers, twenty-two were residents, two were migratory workers, and one a weekly worker. Fifty-one, over one-half of all the women interviewed, were day laborers from Chicago. Of the other day laborers, thirteen lived in other towns and three lived in the country. Of the resident workers, three lived on farms in the city, one on a farm in a town, and eighteen in rural districts. The weekly worker was from Chicago, and the migratory workers from rural districts. The resident farm workers and two other women, one a town day worker and one a rural day worker, were either themselves farm-owners or tenants, or were the wives or daughters of farm-owners or tenants, and did not earn wages. The other sixty-eight women were wage-earners.

Most of the resident workers, eighteen out of twenty-two, were native born, as were the two migratory workers and the one weekly worker. On the other hand, of the sixty-seven day workers, sixty-two were foreign born, thirty-eight being Polish and fifteen Italian. The city day laborers were largely Slavic, thirty-seven of the forty-eight foreign-born city day workers being Polish and five Slovak,

while of the fourteen foreign-born town and rural day laborers, twelve were Italian. Most of the sixty-six foreign-born women were old residents of this country, forty-seven of the sixty foreign-born women reporting having been in the United States ten years or more, and all but seven at least five years. Their knowledge of the English language, however, did not suggest that they had had much contact with American life, as thirty-five did not speak English. Some of these had been here for long periods, as in the case of the Italian day laborer from the village of Schiller Park who had been in the United States for sixteen years, but for whom her son had to act as interpreter. Only slightly smaller was the number of women who were illiterate. Of the eighty-five for whom a report was secured, twenty-nine stated that they were unable to read and write in any language. Moreover, ten of the fifty-six husbands of the women workers for whom their wives reported were illiterate. Among these illiterate women was one native-born woman who had come with her husband and son from rural Missouri for the season's work. All the others were foreign-born day workers.

Two-thirds of the women were between thirty and fifty years of age. Nine were fifty years or over; and eighteen were under thirty, nine of them being under twenty. They had worked many years on truck farms, some of them for all the fifteen or twenty years they had been in the United States; others, who were native born, since they were small children. Seven of the nine under twenty years of age had worked on truck farms between five and ten years, and one, the nineteen-year-old daughter of a farm tenant, who disliked farm work and worked only because she was compelled to help her father, was working for her twelfth season. Two-thirds of the ninety women reporting had worked on truck farms for at least five years, thirty-nine of them for ten years or more, and nineteen for twenty years or longer.

The hard labor involved, the long hours away from home, and its irregularity so differentiate truck-farm work from other forms of work available to most women in this area that it seems that there must be special reasons for its choice, either in the nature of the work or in the situation of the women themselves. Twenty workers were able to give reasons for their choice of this particular occupa-

tion. Eight had taken this work because nothing else was available. Among these was one woman who said that no one wanted to employ old women in the city, and a young girl who could find no factory work in her town since the factory in which she had been working had let out workers. To twelve, however, truck-farm work was definitely preferable, for three because it came in school vacation when it was easier to leave their children; for three because it gave better pay than other occupations open to them; for one because of its casual character; for four because they liked the work itself; and for one because it afforded her a vacation. This woman, who lives near the stock yards on South Halsted Street, enjoys "working in the open"; and to secure a "vacation" from the crowds and noise and dirt of the city, she leaves home before three o'clock in the morning on two days of each week and works eleven hours in the fields.

A liking for field work was given as the reason for doing it by only a few women; but a majority of them did like the work. Only fourteen workers expressed a dislike for it, and nineteen were indifferent. The majority, also, thought that the general effect of farm work was beneficial. "Fresh air" was mentioned as its chief advantage by these women who live in congested city districts. Some of those who liked field work had worked on farms before coming to this country, an Italian woman in Italy, and a Polish woman who had traveled to Prussia to work on sugar-beet farms. Several of the old women like the work. One, seventy-two years old, says it makes her feel good, although she gets to Jefferson Park at four o'clock in the morning and works $11\frac{1}{4}$ hours. The farmer for whom this woman works says she has considerable property. Another of sixty years, who leaves home at three o'clock in the morning and works eleven hours a day from one to four days of the week, likes the work and feels "good," instead of "rotten" as she says she feels in the winter when she stays in town. Some, however, gave less favorable evidence. One woman, who said she had to work to supplement her husband's earnings because the "children want to eat," says that because of the long trip and the long working day, farm work is too hard and that she is often ill from fatigue the day after working. She works four days a week, and has worked for ten years. Another says she goes home from work so tired she cannot sleep. She has worked

on farms for more than twenty years and has had eight children, all of whom died soon after birth or when very young.

However, to most of the women workers truck-farm work is merely a "job," a means of getting money, either to "get rich," as one woman said, or because of unusual expenses, as in the case of a woman whose oldest son had tuberculosis. In thirty-five cases, the women were working because of the death, illness, or unemployment of the husband, his insufficient employment, or insufficient pay for his work, or because of unusual demands upon this income by an exceptionally large family. In two of these cases the husband was crippled, in ten he was dead, and in nine he was unemployed. Altogether, in forty-two cases financial need was the reason given for work on these farms; in twenty-four, the worker belonged to the family operating the farm; in twenty, family, financial, and other reasons were present; and in six no reason was given. It seems that the causes for the seeking of this particular type of employment must be sought in the family situations of the workers.

FAMILY SITUATION

Two-thirds (sixty-one) of the women interviewed were married; one-fifth (eighteen) were widows; twelve were unmarried; and concerning one, no report was secured. Statements concerning the usual occupations of their husbands were made by fifty-two women. The husbands of fifteen of these were farmers or farm laborers. All of the others were unskilled laborers, except one factory foreman, two carpenters, and a cobbler and a tailor, both of whom have their own shops; and three men who had no customary occupation, one being paralyzed, another "too lazy," and the other "too drunk" to keep a job. Besides these three men, thirteen others were unemployed at the time of the inquiry, though this was given as the reason for the work of only nine women.

Sixty-three of the ninety-one women from whom a report was obtained regarding their family situation had children under sixteen, and twenty-eight had children under six years of age. Twenty-two had children with them in the field, but of these only two were children under six years. Besides the forty-one women whose children were all at home, thirteen who had children with them had left

other children at home, so that altogether there were fifty-four families in which children were at home during the long absence of the mother. In nine families the children were cared for by the father; in thirteen, by other adults; and in thirty, they were looking after themselves with no other help.

There seems to be a definite connection between the length of time worked during the year and the family situation of the worker. The wage-earning women who had young children had worked shorter times during the year than the others. Only one of the twenty-one wage-earning women with children under six years had worked as much as three months; while seven of the forty-nine wage-earners with children under sixteen had done so. However, all the non-wage-earning women with children, that is, members of farm families, had worked three months or more. One-half of the women who worked very short periods on truck farms were women with young children. Only one woman with a child under six worked at a second occupation with a total duration of five months or more. As a rule, too, the married women worked on the farms for short periods only. Of the forty-four married women whose husbands were in non-agricultural work and who reported duration of farm work, only one had worked as long as five months, and only six more had worked three months but less than five, while thirty-seven had worked less than three months. On the other hand, about half of the single and widowed women (thirteen of the twenty-seven reporting duration of work) had worked three months or more during the year.

Most of the women found working on truck farms live in foreign neighborhoods in the poorer parts of the city; and apparently their work, scattered and irregular as it is, is undertaken in the midst of pressing family concerns because it offers an opportunity to obtain money for the necessities of life. They are, however, members of self-supporting families. The families are near the poverty line, but with ordinary health and luck can and do support themselves, and call upon others to help only when an emergency or irremediable conditions force them below their customary level.

In the case of every Chicago resident whose name was known, an effort was made to discover whether or not the family was known to a social agency by "clearing" the names at the Social Service Ex-

change. Although it was difficult to obtain the correct spelling of their names from illiterate foreign women and some may have been missed, it is probable that in the search by the staff of the Exchange most of those helped were found. The names of forty-four daily workers, two resident workers, and one weekly worker living in Chicago, and, in addition, four daily and five resident workers living in towns and rural districts, were looked up; and only nine, all city day workers, were found who had been known to social agencies. Of these, only four had received any pecuniary aid. In only two cases had any substantial aid been received, and these were both women who had received no help from outside until the illness or death of the chief bread-winner of the family. Two other families had received temporary aid during a period of unemployment of the head of the household. Temporary desertion of the husband was the cause of the only other application for financial aid, and this had been refused. The other four families registered had never asked or received financial help. Two of them had received temporary medical care; one had asked for work only when the husband was out of work; and one had asked legal aid only, and this had not been given.

TYPE OF WORK PERFORMED

Among the women interviewed, more worked on onions than on any other one crop. Only eight of the ninety-two had done no work on onions, and all but twenty of these eighty-four onion workers had worked on onion sets. The kinds of work done by the women are similar to those done by the children, including planting, weeding, and carrying all kinds of onions; pulling, peeling, and bunching and washing green onions; topping, pulling, and bunching dry onions, and picking up, twisting, or clipping them; twisting or picking up onion sets, and sifting and crating them. Next in importance to onion sets, were, in order of the number of workers reporting them, beets, carrots, beans, cabbages, tomatoes, and pickles. From forty-seven to thirty-six women reported work on each. In all, thirty-four crops were reported.

A proportion of women similar to the proportion of children had worked on only one process on the day previous to the interview, sixty-eight having done so, while nineteen had done two kinds of

work, principally weeding onions and cutting asparagus on South Side farms, and four had performed three or more. Work on only one crop on the previous day was also reported by sixty-eight women. With the women, as well as the children, the list of farming operations performed and crops worked on during the twelve months preceding the interview is only a minimum; and a number of both have undoubtedly been omitted in trying to remember back over the year. However, more kinds of work were done by the individual women workers than by the children.

The number of crops the women worked on during the year varied from one to eighteen. Twenty-one women had worked on ten or more crops, an equal number on seven to nine crops, nineteen on four to six crops, and only twenty-five on three crops or less. The number of crops reported also roughly corresponds to the length of time the worker had worked during the year, as all those who had worked five months or more reported work on at least four crops; while all who reported three crops or less had worked less than one month, except two for whom duration was not reported; none reporting more than nine crops had worked less than one month, and the three reporting sixteen or more crops had worked five months or more.

All the women interviewed had harvested during the year, and seventy-nine had cultivated as well. Cultivation and harvesting are practically the entire work of wage-earning women on truck farms. Only two women, both resident workers, had helped in the preparation of the soil; and planting or transplanting was reported by twenty-one women, all but three of them belonging to farm families.

Planting, usually called "seeding," is done by hand or by machine; the transplanting reported by the women is done by hand. These processes were reported for twenty-one crops. Of the seventy-nine women who reported cultivating, seventy reported weeding twenty-three crops, usually by hand, and in a few instances with the short-handled, triangular-shaped "onion-hoe" which involves the same stooping position as hand weeding; twenty-four had used an ordinary long-handled hoe; nine had used a wheel hoe, and only one, a resident worker, had used a machine cultivator. Two had thinned, and ten tied cauliflower. Five of these reported no other part in cul-

tivating than this process of tying the leaves of the cauliflower over the head so as to protect it from exposure to the sun and keep it white as it grows.

Next in importance to weeding are the various processes of harvesting. Picking was reported by the next largest number, sixty-three; fifty-five had cut; fifty had bunched; forty-four had pulled various crops; and forty-two had twisted or picked up onions, either dry or sets. In addition to these processes, eighteen women reported boxing, sacking, or packing vegetables; and from one to seven women reported other processes, such as trimming cauliflower, cutting tops of dry onions, loading, including throwing sugar beets and catching cabbage, washing and carrying various vegetables, sorting pickles, topping sugar beets, and sifting onions. Some of the harvesting done by the women is harder than that performed by children. Many women in the Chicago district pull sugar beets, though only one of those interviewed had done so. The woman must stoop over to pull the beets from the ground, which has first been loosened by a plow, two rows at a time, and pile them in one row. When the wagon is brought to the field, she throws the heavy beets upon it, an operation which the worker described as "making her ache all over." She had cut her finger on the edge of a leaf while pulling, and had bandaged it with a piece torn from her blue apron.

DURATION OF WORK

The length of time they had spent on truck farms during the schedule year was stated by eighty-seven women, of whom only eighteen had worked as long as five months. Seventeen had worked from three to five months, while thirty had worked less than three but at least one month, and twenty-two had worked less than one month in the year. Only the members of farming families worked for a large proportion of the year.

Twenty-five of the women reported that they had done other work than truck-farm work and housework in their own homes during the year. Two of these had worked on their own general farms in Missouri, nine had been in domestic service of some kind, and fourteen had worked in factories. Only two who reported other work had worked on truck farms as much as five months; and these were

both unmarried daughters of farmers, who helped their parents during the busy season on the farm and worked in the city in the winter, one of them in a factory for two months, and one at housework for six months.

EARNINGS AND HOURS OF WORK

Payment of wages is most often made at the close of each day's work; forty-nine of the sixty-seven wage-earners reporting were working on this basis. The method of securing workers for the day only, on the North Side, makes daily payment necessary; and all but three of the fifty wage-earners on northern farms were paid daily. One of these exceptions was a weekly worker paid by the week; one worker was paid by the month; and one, on request.

Women's wages are, more often than children's, on a time basis. On the day before each interview, which may be considered a typical day, since eighty of the ninety-two women were engaged in harvesting processes, only four women (and these were all harvesting onion sets) were paid by piece rates. These rates were eight cents and sixteen cents per bushel harvested. All the rest of the sixty-eight wage-earners, except one who did not report wages, were paid time wages. Monthly wages were paid to one woman, who received \$100 per month; and seven were paid by the hour, usually for hoeing and occasionally for harvesting, at rates varying from 25 cents to 40 cents. The rest, over four-fifths of the wage-earners, were paid day wages, the rates varying from \$1.50 and \$2.50, each paid to one woman only, to \$4.75 per day, centering at \$3.00, the rate received by twenty-nine women. Nine women received \$3.50; while eight were paid \$4.00 per day.

Weeding was usually paid at the rate of \$3.00 per day; general harvesting, from \$1.50 to \$3.50, oftenest \$3.00 and \$3.50; and only the fourteen women working that day on pickles and onions received rates above \$3.50. The higher rates of \$3.75 to \$4.75 are paid because of the necessity for harvesting large acreages of these crops within a very short time in order to have them in the right condition for marketing. The heavy demand by farmers at Jefferson Park for workers sends the price up. Cutting asparagus, as it takes only part of each day, is combined, when women work at it, with weeding or

hoeing other crops; and both were paid on time basis, at rates of 30 cents an hour or \$3.00 a day.

There is not always a full day's work to be done, and the actual amounts received by the women workers are sometimes less than the rates. However, only four of the sixty-six women reporting wages on the typical day earned less than \$2.00. Almost half, thirty-two, earned from \$3.00 to \$4.00. One woman who received \$1.50 worked twelve hours for it. Another, though she twisted onion sets for 9½ hours, taking off no time for lunch, was able to earn only \$1.20 when paid at the rate of four cents for a half-bushel. The other two who earned less than \$2.00 on the typical day worked only a half-day each. The fifteen women earning from \$2.00 to \$3.00 had worked between six and twelve hours; while those earning from \$3.00 to \$4.00 had worked from eight to twelve hours. The correspondence between payment and length of the working-day was further exemplified by the fifteen women earning from \$4.00 to \$5.00, all but one of whom had worked between ten and twelve hours, the exception having worked only eight hours.

A report of the amount earned and the number of days worked during the week preceding the interview was secured from sixty-one women. Thirty-six had earned from \$10.00 to \$20.00 during the week. Here also wages received varied according to time worked. Five women had earned less than \$5.00 during the week, but they had worked only one or two days. Eleven earned from \$5.00 to \$10.00, but eight of them had worked only two days, while one worked three, and two had worked four days of the week. The nineteen who earned from \$10.00 to \$15.00 had worked three to six days; the seventeen earning from \$15.00 to \$20.00, and the nine earning \$20.00 or more, had worked four to seven days. Not more than nineteen hours had been spent in work by any of the women earning less than \$5.00 during the week; two of the eleven women earning \$5.00 and less than \$10.00 had worked thirty-two hours or more to earn it, while only two of the nineteen receiving \$10.00 and less than \$15.00 had earned it in less than thirty-two hours. Of the twenty-six women earning \$15.00 or over during the week, all had worked thirty-two hours or more, and five had worked at least twice that long.

Naturally, with irregularity both in the demands of the work and in the ability of the women, on account of other duties, to work on the farms, the number of hours of field work in a week is not great. Only eighty-two women could report the number of hours they had worked during the week previous to the interview. Of these, fifty-one had worked thirty-two hours but less than fifty-six, with twenty-seven of these working forty hours but less than forty-eight. Only eleven worked fifty-six hours or more, and six of these worked sixty-four hours or more. The number of days worked corresponded to the hours, as sixty-four of the eighty-six reporting had worked four, five, and six days of the week preceding, and of these twenty-nine had worked five days. Of the twenty-seven who worked from forty to forty-eight hours, sixteen had worked five days, ten had worked four days, and one worked six days. Others who had worked five days had put in from thirty to seventy hours during the week.

LENGTH OF THE WORKING DAY

Only five of the ninety-one women who reported the length of time they had spent in the field on their most recent day employed before the interview had worked less than six hours, and only five had worked twelve hours or longer. Sixty-eight women, three-fourths of the whole group, worked between eight and twelve hours. Altogether, forty-two women had worked over ten hours, the legal working day in Illinois for women in other occupations. Twenty-five were daily wage-earners, twenty-three of them from the city, and only two of the entire group working over ten hours were native born. These hours are much longer than those found by the United States Children's Bureau in a study of the work of mothers on truck farms near Norfolk, Virginia,¹ where a majority of those studied spent less than eight hours in the field on a typical day.

Of the ninety-one women who reported the hour at which they began work the day before the interview, forty-four, nearly one-half, had begun before seven o'clock. Of these, five were living on the farms on which they worked, as members of the farmer's family or as migratory workers, and one other came less than a mile. The re-

¹ *Child Labor and the Work of Mothers on Norfolk Truck Farms*, Children's Bureau Publication No. 130 (Washington, 1924), pp. 22 and 23.

maintaining thirty-eight, however, lived in Chicago, and came at least five miles to reach their work. Thirty-five came ten miles or over, six having traveled between fifteen and twenty miles, and eleven having come twenty miles or more. Of the entire group, forty came ten miles or more, traveling by means of electric car and automobile, as did three who had journeys of less than ten miles. The women always pay their own car fare of seven cents each way, and the farmer takes them to and from the street car in his automobile or truck. Thirty-four who either stayed on the farms or had less than five miles to go, had no transportation. All the others came by electric interurban or all the way by the farmer's automobile—ten by interurban, and four by automobile.

The long distances traveled and the time consumed in making the journeys add immensely to the length of the women's day. A number of women volunteered information regarding the early hour at which they were forced to get up and leave home in order to reach the meeting place in time for the farmers' labor market, and the late hour at which they reached home at night. Some of them stressed the little time left for sleep; others, the little time left for the household duties which must either be done after their return at night or left to accumulate until Sunday or another day on which they stay home from work. When the woman away from home such long hours has children at home, the effect upon the children may be serious. Thirty-two of the forty-four women who began work before 7:00 A.M. on the typical day had children under sixteen. Twenty-eight of these were Chicago women who had to make arrangements for long hours away. The following cases illustrate the difficult program of the woman caused by her long day and the effect upon the children of her long daily absence, and, in addition, are illustrative of the history and family background of the woman which influence her choice of farm work or make it necessary.

Mrs. X leaves home at 3:30 A.M. and gets back at 7:00 P.M., working in the field eleven hours, from 5:30 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. Time for two lunches is allowed, but the women take only a very few minutes, gulping down their coffee and bread, and rush back to work. Mrs. X worked more steadily than many of the women, having worked usually five days of the week for four months in the field, and, in addition, worked two months of the winter in a restaurant. She has a husband, who is a watchman in a candy factory, and three children between six

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and twelve years of age, for whose clothes she feels compelled to supplement her husband's wages. During the mother's fifteen-and-a-half-hour absence from home the twelve-year-old girl is in charge of herself and two other children. She supervises the home during the long, free days of vacation as well as during the school term when there are some hours of supervision but she also has the added responsibility of dressing the children for school. Mrs. X has worked on truck farms ten of her twenty years in America. She also did field work in Europe, but says "work in Europe, work in America, all the same." She also said, "Sure, I like the work, what else can I do? The children need clothes."

Another woman, also with three children between six and sixteen years of age, is forced to work to supplement the earnings of her husband, who does not work steadily, for, she says, the "children must eat." She works 9½ hours a day, but gets up at three, and after her return home at seven o'clock at night has housework to do. Her only objection to farm work is the going back and forth, which takes so much time that she does not get enough sleep. She works quite steadily, altogether for three to four months of the year, which means that these children also care for themselves both in school time and in vacation. In addition, she works in the winter two days per week doing laundry work.

Mrs. Y lives farther away from the farms, so that though she gets up at three in the morning, she does not get home until seven-thirty in the evening. She has worked on one farm all year, that is, six days a week for four months. In the winter she did cleaning in a tailor shop for two months. She is a widow with four children, only one of them over sixteen. The others are left with no other care than that the "lady upstairs" can give, whether the children are at home all day or in school part of the time. She has worked on truck farms twelve of her nineteen years in the United States.

Mrs. Z also lives nearly thirty miles away from her daily work. She gets up at 2:00 A.M. in order to get to Jefferson Park in time for the farmers' wagons. She does this work because she thinks it pays higher wages than she can earn in a factory. As a tobacco-packer she earned \$12.00 to \$15.00 per week, and on the farms last week she worked four days earning \$16.50. However, she feels better when in the factory because she gets more sleep. Now she gets only five hours a night. She is fifty-four years old, and a widow with two children over sixteen and one daughter of twelve who had been with her mother in the field for two days, but during the rest of the time, nearly two months, that her mother had been working on the farms, the child had stayed at home by herself. Mrs. Z has worked in the field twelve years of the fourteen she has been in this country.

Mrs. A worked four days of the week previous to the interview, leaving four young children at home with an eighteen-year-old brother. She finds the work hard because of the home work she has to do, but does it because, though her husband is employed, they "need the money."

Mrs. B, who leaves home at 3:30 A.M., explained that though on some farms work did not start until six or seven o'clock, one must be at the end of the car line in time for the early farmers who may be back at their farms with their load

of workers and at work by five. This is the first year Mrs. B has worked on truck farms, and she has worked less than two weeks altogether. Her work is necessary because her husband has no employment. He therefore stays at home with their five children, all under sixteen, one of whom is under six years.

One young woman of twenty-six whose husband works in a factory, and who leaves her little child of less than six years with the landlady, comes to the farms because her husband does not earn enough for their needs. Although she worked in the old country, she does not think it was so hard, because here she has to get up so early—to leave the house a little after two in the morning.

None of these families has ever received help from charitable agencies so far as could be traced through the registration bureau. The following is the only woman interviewed who was found to be receiving regular help from a private charitable agency.

The agency has been enabled by Mrs. C's work on truck farms during two or three months of each of the last two years to cut down the amount of help given her. To do this work she is reported by the charity visitor to go to work at 4:00 A.M. and to return at 7:00 P.M. In the meantime four children are at home alone, boys aged nine and five, and girls aged six and three. Both Mrs. C and the superintendent of the district office of the agency named the girl of six as caretaker during the mother's absence, the social worker remarking that she was doing very well and that since the women of this neighborhood did very little looking after their children anyway, letting them play on the streets while the mothers stayed in the kitchen, the woman might just as well be away at work.

The following is an example of situations which may develop when the mother of a family is away from home as much as she is when working on truck farms.

Mrs. D's daughter, sixteen years old, has been known to the Juvenile Court since she was nine years old for stealing and for immorality. A charitable agency knew two years before the child was first brought into court that Mr. D worked irregularly and drank; that Mrs. D worked on farms to support the family when Mr. D was not working; that the family was living in dark, damp, basement rooms; and that the children were said to be living on cabbage and black coffee. In 1922, when the girl was fourteen, her baby was born. At this time the court knew that the mother got up at 4:00 A.M., left for work at 4:30, and returned from the farms at 7:30 P.M. As the court officer describes the family in 1923: Mrs. D worked in the onion fields; the children were unsupervised all day; Mary, ten years old, was dirty and uncared for but had a good school report; Joe, twelve, was likewise dirty and uncared for, and was troublesome, on the high road to delinquency, and in need of supervision. During 1924, the

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year before the interview, Mrs. D worked in a pickle factory, standing in water above her ankles, earning \$15.00 per week, and had worked some, though less than a month, in the fields.

SUMMARY

Aside from the members of farming families, most of the women found at work on truck farms near Chicago were day laborers living in congested and foreign districts of Chicago. Many of them did not speak English and could not read or write. A majority were married and had children under sixteen years of age. The husbands were chiefly unskilled laborers; and the families, though with low incomes, were self-supporting. The women worked irregularly and for comparatively short portions of the year, a majority having worked on truck farms less than three months of the year preceding the interview. The irregularity of the demand for workers on truck farms appears to make this occupation desirable to women with home responsibilities. Irregularity and short duration of farm work were especially marked among the women with young children.

Cultivating and harvesting were the chief field occupations of the women workers. Wages were fair, but hours of work were long, four-fifths of the workers having spent eight hours or more in the field on a typical day. The length of time spent away from home by these women each day is increased by the distance of the work from their homes, a majority of the wage-earners living from ten to thirty miles away from the farms, so that four hours or more are often added by travel to the hours spent in the field. Time spent in bargaining for work at Jefferson Park market increased the hours away from home of the large majority of the wage-earners. The early hours at which the farmers are accustomed to start the field work aggravates this situation. Many women are forced to leave their homes by three o'clock in the morning. These inconvenient and long hours increase the strain of the work upon the workers, especially when added to home duties, and are even more undesirable because of the necessity of leaving children at home for such long periods without adequate care.

DOROTHY WILLIAMS BURKE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE CRIME WAVE OF 1865-70

THE effect of war on crime conditions was much discussed throughout the period of the Great War, and there has been a post-war interest in many countries as to the effect of war in producing an aftermath of crime. The war, said an English writer early in the year 1920, has destroyed with a hand more desolating than the Black Death or the most terrible plagues of history. But its consequences do not end with destruction. The people who have taken serious part in it are not the same people as those who went into it. . . . They are changed peoples. They have passed through an experience which has altered habits, temper, outlook, in five years, more than fifty years of ordinary life would have altered them.

Some of the consequences of that experience are obviously bad. The epidemic of crimes of violence is the natural sequel of war, for men learn in that school to think little of life. The same increase of crime of this kind followed the Napoleonic Wars both here and in France.¹

Sir Nevil Macready, chief commissioner of the Metropolitan police, discussing the same point, did not go back to the Napoleonic wars; but after stating that every great war had been followed by an increase in crime, he comforted himself by saying that, leaving out modern methods of publicity, the position in Great Britain in 1919-20 was, to say the least, not worse than it had been after the Crimean War. The Commissioner continued:

One curious thing about these crimes is that so many of them, particularly those of violence, are done by comparatively young men. A lot of these youths between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two had no occupation before the war. They joined the army and "did their bit." The war made a greater impression on their minds than it did on those of older men. When they come home they think it very fine to take up this means of livelihood. They have been accustomed and encouraged to take life lightly, and you cannot expect every individual to go back to the normal state in a minute.²

A significant reference to this same subject was made by Mr. Winston Churchill, who, speaking at a dinner in London in November, 1919, is reported to have said:

¹ *Nation*, XXVI (London, January 10, 1920), 498.

² Interview reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, January 30, 1920.

People talk about the world on the morrow of the Great War as if somehow or other we had all been transported into a higher form. We have been transformed into a sphere which is definitely lower from almost every point of view than that which we had attained in the days before Armageddon. Never was there a time when people were more disposed to turn to courses of violence, to show scant respect for law and country and tradition and procedure than the present. There never was a time when more complete callousness and indifference to human life and suffering were exhibited by the great communities all over the world. On the expanse of Europe an insidious seething scene of misery has formed—a malevolence which is not for the moment dangerous, because it proceeds only on the basis of exhaustion of a kind that the world has never before recorded.¹

Mr. Churchill's picture has had its counterpart in other countries and in other times.² Nearly four hundred years ago, Sir Thomas More, writing in the *Utopia*, described the outbreak of lawlessness

¹ See *ibid.* (weekly ed.), November 28, 1919.

² Referring to more recent history, "crime epidemics" were reported, for example, after the Franco-Prussian War in France and Germany, and in a lesser degree, but to some extent, in Great Britain after the South African War.

As regards the South African War the English prison commissioners conducted an interesting inquiry during the years 1902-3 to ascertain the causes of the increase in the prison population during that and the preceding year (see *Report of the Commissioners of Prisons* [Cd. 1800], p. 11). The following table, which shows the number of persons tried on indictment and summarily in the years ending March 31, 1901, and March 31, 1903, in England and Wales, indicates the extent of this increase.

YEAR ENDING MARCH 31	TRIED ON INDICTMENT		TRIED SUMMARILY	
	Actual Number	Number per 100,000 Population	Actual Number	Number per 100,000 Population
1901.....	7,091	21.9	141,509	438.9
1903.....	8,271	25.0	168,286	509.9

The commissioners ascribed the increase indicated in the table given above in part to an increase in activity on the part of the police; but their inquiry indicated that the increase had also been caused (1) by the effect of the war in South Africa as affecting charges for drunkenness and assault and (2) by the growth of vagrancy and of offenses against workhouse regulations.

It is quite probable, judging from the effect of the recent war, that the second cause might also have been ascribed to the war. The commissioners stated further that although only 1,568 soldiers who actually served in South Africa had been committed to prison by ordinary courts during the year, the opinion of some governors of prisons was that much additional drinking, leading to the committal of petty crime, had resulted from the then recent war. One governor reported, for example, that the depar-

and crime that inevitably followed the conclusion of a great war. Thus he described the dark days of a new peace

when they had no war, peace nothing better than war, by reason that their people in war had so inured themselves to corrupt and wicked manners that they had taken a delight and pleasure in robbing and stealing, that through manslaughter they had gathered boldness to mischief, that their laws were had in contempt, and nothing set by or regarded.

The French sociologist, Augustin Hamon, the author of *La psychologie du militaire professionnel*, written in 1893, has discussed, in a book prepared during the Great War, the effect of war upon the standards of conduct of those engaged in it. The theory of M. Hamon is that war reverses

the customary moral value of men's actions. Life in the midst of violence and slaughter develops in man an appetite for violence and accustoms him to the idea of resorting to violence in order to obtain the realization of his desires and requirements. The life of war educates men for war, not for peace. . . .

The continual spectacle which the soldier has had before his eyes for months and years is so full of horrors that the human being has been gradually becoming insensitive. He no longer pities the sufferings of others, and he feels his own less keenly. This explains how men can march for hours even when atrociously wounded. They acquire a contempt for death and suffering. . . . Moreover, the dangers incurred and the constant presence of death have accustomed men to be unafraid. They are less fearful than of old, so that constraint is no longer effective.¹

ture, the success, and, still more, the return of troops had been the occasion or the excuse for excessive drinking.

After the Franco-Prussian War, there was a crime epidemic both in France and in Germany. In France for a whole decade after the War of 1870 there was a very great increase in crime. The same phenomenon had been noted after the Revolution of 1848, and it was to combat this dangerous situation that Bonneville de Marsangy worked out his *Amélioration de la loi criminelle*, which was to be the source of the legislative reforms of the Second Empire. See J. A. Roux, "Ce que sera la criminalité après la guerre," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, XCI (April, 1917), 34; see also Bonger, *Criminality and Economic Conditions*, pp. 55-56, 63-67, 74-83, 233-35, and 344, for statistics on this subject.

¹ Hamon, *Lessons of the World War*, pp. 355-57. M. Hamon also quotes Laotze, who said, "Where the army is, there also is misery and devastation"; and Seneca, who declared, "One cannot at the same time behave as a good General and a good man." Tertullian asserted that "deceit, cruelty, and injustice are the appanage of war." Machiavelli wrote, "He who follows war as a profession cannot be other than vicious. War makes thieves, and peace builds gibbets for them." For Voltaire "thieves and soldiers" were synonymous. See *ibid.*, p. 285.

It is not the purpose of the present study to present such facts as are available regarding the effect of the war—to present a theory as to the general effect of war upon the minds and habits of men or nations, or to discuss the theories of M. Hamon and other writers. A subject of special interest, however, and one that has received little attention from our historians, is the effect of our American Civil War upon crimes in this country during the period of the war and after its close.

In a report on prison conditions in the United States prepared in 1872 for the International Prison Congress, Mr. Frank Sanborn, of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities, gave an account of conditions at this time:

In regard to the number of prisoners in confinement at any one time and the whole number committed during a year, it is to be remarked that both have greatly increased in the United States since the close of the Civil War, six years ago. During the progress of that conflict and especially in the years 1863-64 the prison inmates were often reduced to less than two-thirds their number in 1860, and scarcely more than half their present number; but at that time the number of women in prison was greater than before or since. The census of 1860 gave as the whole number of prison inmates June 1, 1860, about 19,000 in the whole country; but this was much less than the true number, which probably exceeded 26,000, the population of the country being something more than 31,000,000. During the Civil War it is probable that the prisoners in confinement in the summer season, when they are always fewest, were reduced to 20,000. Immediately on the close of the war the increase of commitments was startling, and among the new commitments were thousands of soldiers and sailors, many of whom had fought well in the campaign. At one time more than half of the inmates of the Northern state prisons must have been persons who had been enrolled in the army or navy and many of whom had been good soldiers. This state of things culminated in 1867, since when the prisoners of this class have been diminishing, but in the meantime the change in the social and industrial conditions of the South have begun to bring into the prisons of that section a great increase of colored convicts. . . . How soon this apparent increase of crime will reach a maximum it is hard to say, but probably within two or three years.

Criminal statistics during and after the Civil War period are not easily collected. In general, however, from such data as are available, four conclusions may be drawn: (1) There was a marked and general decrease in the number of male prisoners during the war years. (2) But an increase in the number of female prisoners ap-

parently occurred in many places during the same time. (3) An increase also in the number of children in prison was marked in some states and probably occurred rather generally. (4) A marked increase occurred in the number of commitments of men to prison during the years following the war.

DECREASE IN MALE PRISONERS DURING THE
CIVIL WAR

In a *Report on the Prisons and Reformatories of the United States* made to the New York Legislature early in 1867, attention was called to the effect of the war on the prison population of the country:

During the late tremendous civil war, there was a diminution of male prisoners in all the state prisons of 10 to 50 per cent. This by no means indicates a diminution of crime. Criminals were as numerous, perhaps more numerous than ever; but convictions were fewer. This was due to several causes. One of these causes was tersely expressed by a sheriff, who observed to one of us during the progress of the strife that the penalty of crime now-a-days was to enlist in the army, and get a large bounty. This was perhaps "putting too fine a point upon it"; but there was an element of truth in the remark. Mr. Prentice, of the Ohio penitentiary, thus explains the matter: "Local committees have secured the release of young men from punishment for minor offenses on condition that they would enlist. Others have fled for refuge to the army, and thus have avoided arrest. Old criminals have sought the army not only for refuge but as a field for fresh depredations."

In Tables I and II are presented such data as are available relating to the prison population and the number of commitments to the state prisons of seven of the northern states from 1860 to 1870.

So far as the years 1861-65 go, Table I indicates that the total prison population reached its lowest point in the year 1865; but Table II, which gives not the total prison population but the number of persons committed within the year, shows that an increase in the number of prison commitments began in 1865, apparently following closely on the great demobilization. Total prison population is of course a cumulative figure and depends, not only upon the number of commitments through a series of years, but upon the length of sentence. During the Civil War, apparently, sentences were given with reluctance; and when given, they were probably of short duration. After the fall of Richmond in April,

1865, soldiers returning home may have been leniently dealt with as to the length of their sentences, but they were frequently committed to prison. An increase in prison population and in prison commitments after the war is clearly indicated.

TABLE I
TOTAL POPULATION OF STATE PRISONS OF FOUR NORTHERN STATES, 1860-70

Year	Massachusetts	New York*	Ohio	Michigan†
1860	510	2,662	.....	535
1861	520	2,824	924	621
1862	506	2,712	768	531
1863	431	2,300	740	410
1864	377	2,044	624	333
1865	359	1,898	655	292
1866	470	2,537	860	315
1867	537	2,910	1,001	502
1868	546	2,985	.....	582
1869	569	2,800	.....	622
1870	594	2,698	.....	644

* Average number of commitments.

† Number of convicts in prison at beginning of year.

TABLE II
NUMBER OF PERSONS COMMITTED TO THE STATE PRISONS OF FOUR NORTHERN STATES, 1860-69*

Year	Massachusetts	New Hampshire	Vermont	Pennsylvania
1860	144	.....	41	413
1861	197	31	44	295
1862	102	22	42	225
1863	108	22	22	272
1864	79	9	17	223
1865	129	60	31	407
1866	249	45	51	644
1867	247	46	43	.....
1868	128	39	29	.....
1869	180	32	42	.....

* Compiled from the reports of the state-prison directors of the different states.

Some data which are also available for some of the minor prisons during this period are presented in Table III and seem to indicate that the population of the minor prisons increased very quickly after the war.

Comment on the reduced prison population of the war period was frequent. The inspectors of the New York State prisons reported in the year 1863 that the number of convicts had been so greatly reduced in all the state prisons that "almost everyone able to labor had been employed on contracts," and with outside labor very high and difficult to obtain, the enlargements and improvements at Sing Sing and Clinton prisons for which appropriations had been made had been indefinitely postponed.

TABLE III
MALE POPULATION OF CERTAIN MINOR PRISONS, JAILS, AND
HOUSES OF CORRECTION, 1860-69

YEAR	NUMBER OF MALE PRISONERS			
	Albany Penitentiary	New York City Prisons	Massachusetts County Prisons*	Detroit House of Correction
1860.....	1,172	.....	9,756	.....
1861.....	1,171	.....	9,011	.....
1862.....	758	.....	7,106	355
1863.....	760	.....	6,142	233
1864.....	425	16,040	5,097	166
1865.....	643	24,329	5,464	286
1866.....	716	27,320	7,454	704
1867.....	587	30,014	6,928	797
1868.....	660	28,735	7,666	819
1869.....	769	.....	8,904	994

* From Annual Reports of the Board of State Charities of Massachusetts.

The report of the State Prison of Maine showed that there were only seventy-eight convicts there at the end of 1864, the smallest number since 1854.²

A Quaker writing in the *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy* before the fall of Richmond made the statement that in the County Prison in Moyamensing the number of male prisoners had been "greatly diminished by the war." However, he believed that a reaction would follow the war, and added:

² The *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy* (New Series), No. 5 (January, 1866), p. 158. The Quaker editor's comment on the decline in the male prison population is of interest. The cause, which he says is not stated by the warden, "is evidently the demand for men in the army, or the call for and reward of a certain kind of talent to impose upon soldiers and the Government. No doubt 1866 will fill the cells of the Maine State Prison."

It would be a consolation amid the evils of the existing conflict if we could believe that the restoration of peace would not augment the lists of all classes of male prisoners. But unfortunately, many of those who have joined the army, and are quite as likely as others to escape the perils of battle, must return to their haunts of vice, with no moral improvement, no correction of a depraved appetite. And it is quite consistent with the experience of other countries, if not with our own, that some who go to the army with tolerably good habits, return with vitiated tastes and join the ranks of those who become habitués of our prisons and in time sink down hopeless victims of debauchery.

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF WOMEN OFFENDERS
DURING THE CIVIL WAR

In their *Report on the Prisons of the United States* made to the New York Legislature in 1867, Mr. Wines and Mr. Dwight say that the "number of female convictions increased during the war, though this increase was less marked in the state prisons than in prisons of an inferior grade where minor offenses receive their punishment."

A representative of the New York Prison Association who visited the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania reported that there were 350 convicts in the prison, 22 of whom were women. This, according to the warden, was "an unusually large proportion of that sex." He added that "while the number of male prisoners has been diminished by the civil war now raging, the number of female prisoners has been increased. This disparity is more conspicuous, because much greater, in the city prison at Moyamensing than at the penitentiary."

In view of the fact that commitments of women decreased along with commitments of men during the Great War in England, the increase in the number of women prisoners during the Civil War is of special interest. In a *Special Report on Prisons and Prison Discipline* made under authority of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities in 1865,¹ the statistics shown in Table IV were published.

In commenting on these figures, the report said that this increase in female criminality was startling and not wholly intelligible. It further pointed out that the women in prison were the mothers, the wives, and daughters of men who had gone South with the armies of the Union; and it added:

¹ By the secretary of the board, Mr. Frank Sanborn (Senate Document 74, 1865).

Many of the prison officers ascribe the increase in female crime to the distribution of State Aid and bounty money. The possession of more money than usual makes these women idle and exposes them to temptation; they drink, and from this are led on to worse offenses; while the absence of their sons, husbands, and fathers leaves them without restraint or protection.

Looking back at the situation with the recent war in mind, it seems necessary to add that some part of the delinquency of these women must also have been caused by the emotional disturbance, the anxiety, and the grief from which they suffered.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF PRISONERS COMMITTED TO COUNTY PRISONS,
JAILS, AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION IN
MASSACHUSETTS, 1860-64

YEAR	NUMBER OF PRISONERS COMMITTED	
	Male	Female
1860.....	9,756	2,043
1861.....	9,011	2,167
1862.....	7,106	2,599
1863.....	6,142	3,246
1864.....	5,097	3,019

In New York the "average number" of males in all the state prisons fell from 2,619 in 1861 to 1,818 in 1864. During this same time the number of females increased from 143 to 147. Attention was called to the increase in the hideous business of the abortionist, an evil which was held in part responsible for the increase in what was called "female crime." A report of the New York Prison Association explained what was called the "tendency to abortion" by saying:

Wives, whose husbands had gone to the army, were left unprotected and exposed to the arts of the designing and the vicious of the other sex. Some of them—we are glad to believe they are the exception—have lapsed from virtue, and naturally desire to obliterate the evidence of their guilt.¹

Table V shows for the County Penitentiary of Albany, New York, and for the Detroit House of Correction, the number of male and female persons received from 1860 to 1865, and the average number at Sing Sing.

¹ *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Prison Association* (New York, 1866), p. 173.

The data for Sing Sing show a marked increase in the number of women inmates and a marked decrease in the number of men inmates during the last two years of the war.¹

In general, the number of women committed did not decrease along with the decline in the number of men. Apparently in all three of these prisons the number of women committed was increasing while the number of men was rapidly declining. In Albany the 373 women received in 1863 represent the largest number of commitments throughout the whole period of 1860-71, but there was a noticeable fall after 1863.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF MALE AND FEMALE PERSONS RECEIVED FROM 1860 TO 1865
IN THE ALBANY PENITENTIARY AND IN THE DETROIT HOUSE OF
CORRECTION, AND THE AVERAGE NUMBER AT SING SING

YEAR	SING SING PRISON		ALBANY PENITENTIARY		DETROIT HOUSE OF CORRECTION	
	Average Number of Inmates		Number of Persons Received		Number of Persons Received	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1860.....	1,173	137	1,172	312	.....	.....
1861.....	1,280	143	1,171	362	.....	.....
1862.....	1,147	130	758	332	355	199
1863.....	890	124	760	373	233	152
1864.....	796	147	425	262	166	186
1865.....	689	188	643	249	286	233

Attention has already been called to the fact that the increase in the number of women committed to prison during our Civil War is in marked contrast to the decline in the number of women offenders in England during the Great War. The change is undoubtedly due in large measure to the new standards that had developed in the intervening sixty years in the field of social service. The widespread efforts in Great Britain to protect the wives and other dependents of soldiers from drunkenness on the one hand, and to provide them with liberal allowances on the other, the institution of women patrols and policewomen engaged in protective work, and the in-

¹ Data from *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Prison Association* (New York, 1866), pp. 40-42.

fluence of social settlements and charitable organizations of all sorts undoubtedly had much to do with protecting the women whom the soldiers left behind them. Such agencies and such methods of work were unknown either in England or in our own country in the early sixties of the last century.

INCREASE IN JUVENILE DELINQUENCY DURING
THE CIVIL WAR

Genuine concern about the increased imprisonment of minors was expressed. The wartime reports of the old Eastern Penitentiary in 1863 noted an increase in juvenile offenders, and in 1864 attention is again called to the distressing fact of an increase in young first-offenders. Unfortunately, in Civil War days the old common-law theory that a child of seven was capable of committing a crime generally prevailed in the states. In Mr. Sanborn's special report on *Prisons and Prison Discipline* in 1865 attention was called to the fact that the imprisoned minors were in large numbers of cases the children of men who were serving with the Union armies, or the young brothers and sisters of soldiers. A boy of six who was imprisoned for thirty days at Plymouth was the son of a Massachusetts cavalry soldier who was killed in General Grant's campaign against Richmond shortly before his child was sent to prison. The state investigator of local prisons said: "I have talked with many boys in Jails and Houses of Correction who were either the sons or brothers of soldiers or sailors in the service. It may not be extravagant to say that one out of four of the many children in our prisons have near relatives in the army."

As a result of this report the General Court of Massachusetts was urged to undertake two reforms in dealing with child offenders: (1) the opening of such reformatories for boys as would "save Massachusetts from the disgrace of treating as criminals so many young children"; (2) the fixing by statute of the age at which a child could be deemed capable of committing a crime in order to do away with the common-law age limit of seven years. In the words of the report: "If we cannot prevent this pitiable increase in crime, we may at least do something to check it and to reform the offenders."

THE AFTERMATH OF THE CIVIL WAR

Immediately after the establishment of peace there was a great increase in crime and disorder, not only in the South, where conditions were abnormal, but throughout the North as well. And a very large proportion of the new offenders in the northern states were the men who had "worn the blue." To some, the large number of soldiers and sailors in prison was a "new occasion for denouncing the war and those who carried it on."¹

Grave fears that an epidemic of crime and disorder might follow the disbanding of the victorious armies of the North had been held by many friends of the Republic. Nicolay and Hay, in their *Life of Lincoln*, note that in Europe

those who disbelieved in the conservative power of democracy were loud in their prophecies of the trouble which would arise on the attempt to disband the army. A million men, with arms in their hands, flushed with intoxicating victory, led by officers schooled in battle, loved and trusted, were they not ready for an adventure? Was it reasonable to believe that they would consent to disband and to go to work again at the bidding of a few men in Washington? Especially after Lincoln was dead, could the tailor from Tennessee direct these myriads of warriors to lay down their arms and melt away into the everyday life of citizens.²

Although the fears of our friends were not realized, we had, however, as the tables already given indicate, a very marked increase in the number of prison commitments. The Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York instituted an inquiry into this subject in the autumn of the year 1865. The Committee gave as the reason for their inquiry the fact that "the number of prisoners had sensibly diminished during the Mexican War and after its close had increased again even beyond their former limits, and that their crimes had changed from those of fraud to those of violence."

¹ *North American Review*, October, 1866, p. 409. As regards the commitment of soldiers see also *ibid.* (October, 1867), pp. 580-81: "A year ago allusion was made in these pages to the rapid filling up of our prisons with men who had seen service in the army or navy. At that time, we are confident, at least two-thirds of all commitments to the state prisons in the loyal states were of this class. . . . If so, there cannot be less than five or six thousand soldiers and sailors who fought for the Union now confined in the state prisons of the Union; to say nothing of the tens of thousands besides, who during the year have been confined in the lesser prisons."

² X, 336.

The Committee, therefore, in order to ascertain whether this was accidental or a natural result of a state of war and its effects on the people, undertook certain inquiries as to the effect of the war which had just closed.

The number of commitments to Sing Sing had been 143 from April through October for the year 1864; during the same period in the year 1865 the number had been 412.

The number of arrests in the city of New York had increased from 54,751 in 1864 to 68,873 in 1865.

The convictions in the city of New York for state-prison offenses during the months from April to November, 1864 and 1865, were as shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI
CONVICTIONS IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK FOR
STATE-PRISON OFFENSES 1864 AND 1865

Month	1864	1865
April.....	12	16
May.....	8	31
June.....	9	46
July.....	6	48
August.....	3	40
September.....	9	48
October.....	6	51

The general conclusion of the Committee is that "immediately upon the closing of the late war the number of prisoners began to increase and increased so rapidly that in six months the number of commitments was three times as great as it had been during the same month in the previous year."

The Committee add also that in 1865 "as well as after the Mexican War the character of the crimes committed had changed. They have become more marked with violence." Full information on this topic was not within reach of the Committee. One fact, however, which they obtained is significant: "The convictions in the city of New York for crimes of violence were 624 in 1864 and 995 in 1865, showing an increase of 50 per cent."

The Commissioner of Public Charities and Correction of New York called attention to the situation in the penitentiary at Blackwell's Island, where "the number of prisoners had increased since

the termination of the war. The aggregate number confined in 1864 was 921; in 1865, was 1,670. It is believed that there will be a large increase this year."

The New York prison inspectors found comfort in the fact that the influx of young and able-bodied men into the prisons made it possible to make contracts for prison labor on more favorable terms. Thus the report for 1866 notes that: "since the close of the war the prisons are rapidly filling up, and the contracts recently let are at a higher price than formerly paid . . . there is reason to believe that the prisons may possibly become nearly or quite self-sustaining."

In the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania a large influx of ex-soldiers was reported as early as 1865. In 1866 the prison inspectors for this institution express deep regret in their report "that during the last year crime has so noticeably increased not only in our state but throughout the country."

Fortunately, the report also notes that the number pardoned during the year was larger than usual and that a very large proportion of the pardons were issued to young men who were there "on first conviction and had just been disbanded from the army; who, falling amongst evil associates on their return, were easily led into crime by the wild and reckless habits there contracted."

Again in the Eastern Penitentiary in 1867 the physician reported a serious degree of overcrowding:

The number of prisoners now in the house is more than is consistent with . . . the laws of hygiene. The prospect of a sensible diminution during the year is not encouraging. The rush from the ranks of a disbanded soldiery has indeed somewhat abated; but the steady increase of crime in the state, like the wind backing the tide, will still, term after term, supply the overplus.

Of the 126 convicts in the Kansas State Penitentiary in 1867, 98 had served "a full term in the Union Army and 6 in the rebel army." Sixty of these men assigned "demoralization in the army as the cause of their crime." The *Annual Report* for that year says:

The mass are willing to tell you with great frankness who they are, where they are from and what they did, and do impress you at once with the fact that they are not old in crime and confirmed in a state of wrong-doing. Absence from home, exciting circumstances of the war, the false idea that "jayhawking" was not a crime, and the ever baneful influence of intoxicating drink were the causes of all the crimes which sent the convicts to prison.

The secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Charities accepted the increase in crime as natural and inevitable. That crime was not only increasing rapidly but assuming new and shocking forms was a constant subject of discussion in the summer of 1865.¹ Murder, rape, highway robbery, burglary, and other crimes were said to be occurring with "shocking frequency."

But the report of the Massachusetts Board in discussing the subject calls attention to two important facts: first, that the portion of the population who were normally "most exposed to temptation and to crime" had been for several years in the army; and second, "that no inconsiderable number of persons had been discharged from actual confinement to enter the United States service." The report continues:

On the return of these persons, therefore, one of two things must happen,—either they will have been reformed while in the army, or, at least, placed above the reach of their former temptations, or else they will soon fall again into their old courses. The records of our jails and criminal courts for the last six months will show that the latter has very frequently been the case.

As regards the first point, it is noted that while "obvious crime" had been diminished by the war, real crime had probably not decreased. Thus the report says:

To change the locality of crime is not to diminish it, and yet we have no record of the offences punished in the military courts while our soldiers were in the service. That they were numerous and often heinous, we know. Had these offenders remained in Massachusetts they would, most likely, have been guilty of the same or equivalent crimes, while they would have lacked the salutary restraints of military discipline, and the great moralizing force of a patriotic spirit, displayed in the dangers of battle and the hardships of the campaign.

The final reply of the secretary of the Massachusetts Board to the question "Is crime, then, epidemic?" was that crime had probably not increased disproportionately to the increase in the adult male population as a result of demobilization and that it was manifestly unjust to infer hastily that the army and navy had been schools of crime.

In spite of all that has been said about the great increase of crime in consequence of the late war, it must be noticed that the whole number in our

¹ *Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities* (1866), p. 213.

prisons has been at no time during the past year so large as in 1861, nor have the reported commitments been so many by several hundred as in that year.¹

On all sides, however, there were complaints that crime was increasing, that the war had demoralized the country, and that there was need of stern punishments and severe laws. Mr. Frank Sanborn, the secretary of the Massachusetts Board, said, in commenting on such statements: "There must be some foundation for an opinion so widespread; yet I apprehend that the actual increase of crime is much less than is commonly supposed." Statistics are given to show that although there was a marked increase over the war years in crime among men, the pre-war level had not been reached and there had been an actual decrease of commitments of women and children.

In Massachusetts an increase in prison commitments began in the spring of 1865 and was continued through the autumn and winter. The increase, however, was confined to male prisoners, and the commitments of females declined both relatively and absolutely until the number in 1866 was smaller than in any year since 1856.

In 1866 the convict prison at Charlestown, Massachusetts was terribly overcrowded. This was attributed to two causes: The first, and this was said to be by far the more important, was "the rapid development of crime since the war ended; and the second, the diminished number of pardons from that prison."

Out of 327 commitments in the year ending October 1, 1866, 215 were men who had served in the army or navy in defense of the Union. Of these men the warden's report says:

The great majority of these were good soldiers and sailors; they are young men who entered the service before they had learned a trade, and before their principles were firmly fixed; and on their discharge they were unable to find employment, or had learned the vices of the camp, and so fell readily into crime.

Prison reports issued during the period 1865-70 disagree as to how far the grave increase in crime should be attributed to the effects of the great demobilization. For example, the Prison Com-

¹ *Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities* (1867), p. 75. See also the *North American Review*, October, 1866, p. 409, which recognizes the grave situation resulting from the large number of soldiers in the northern prisons, but adds, "It should be remembered that our prisons are not yet so full, by some thousands, as they were before the war."

missioner of Wisconsin, who reported an influx of discharged soldiers among the men received as convicts in 1866, refused to accept the theory that the war had a demoralizing effect on our people. Thus the Commissioner says in his report for that year:

It is my honest conviction that the war had in the main no demoralizing effect upon those of our volunteers who were men of good habits when they entered the army; they, as a general thing, returned with their morals unimpaired. This I consider the rule, but, of course, there are no rules without exceptions.

Discussing the large number of prisoners who had come from the army, he also says:

It will be remembered that no inconsiderable number of these persons were discharged from actual confinement in our jails, before having been tried, for the purpose of entering the military service. Thus it happened, that the number of convicts decreased nearly 100 per cent in this prison, during the war, not because there was less crime but because there were less convictions. On the return of these persons, not having been reformed while in the army, they soon relapsed into their old habits and become now the inmates of our jails and prisons.

On the other hand, the warden and inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania attributed the increase in lawlessness to the disbanding of the army. As early as 1865 the officials of this institution reported an unusually large influx of prisoners during the last three months of that year, and the *Report* called attention to the fact that the men received were in poor physical condition and that nine-tenths of them

had been more or less incapacitated and demoralized by an apprenticeship to the trade of war. . . . That the disbandment of large bodies of troops should produce the effect of not only greatly increasing the amount of crime, but also the grave character of the offenses committed is a fact so severely felt by the community that it may be freely stated without disparagement to the many thousands who from patriotic and other motives have served faithfully and since the close of the war have returned to their customary peaceful avocations.¹

¹ *Report for 1865*, p. 91. The following statement in the *Report* is of interest: "The condition of the social relations of this country within the past five years has had a very marked effect on the character of a large number of our people. Growing out of this condition, familiarity with deeds of violence to persons and property has been produced. This has its consequences after the necessity [which] . . . justified them has been removed. It has become a cause of crime. The teaching and its practice that numbers associated into a class with its special law of force, can over-ride the restraints and protection of laws which rely only on the power of moral influence, have corrupted or

In the following year the report of the same penitentiary records an increase in numbers said to be "without precedent in the annals of the institution." Three-fourths of the convicts had been "active participants in a struggle, unexampled in modern history," and, the report continued, "by the subsidence of this great national convulsion this penitentiary, in common with all penal institutions in the country, has indirectly received, at least, its own share of shattered mortality."¹ The report also adds that a time of readjustment will be necessary before the ex-soldiers "can be brought under discipline so at variance with the license and excitement of their late occupation. Steady industry is not likely to be a condition to which they can easily yield, or they would not have become convicts." After noting the continued increase in commitments during the year 1866 and the probable necessity of building new cells, the report continues:

There is in our social condition a predisposition to crime of the higher grades, which is easily comprehended. The crime cause arises from the demoralization which ever attends on war and armies. Familiarity with deeds of violence and destruction thus induced leaves its impression after the one is over and the other disbanded. We find in all parts of the country the most distressing evidence of this fact. Crimes against persons are daily committed, and crimes against property are equally atrocious and frequent. To punish the guilty and deter others, the courts have resorted to long terms of imprisonment as a terror and a penalty.

hardened the moral nature or blunted or blinded the moral perceptions of some of those who have been thus associated. Thus it is found that out of 257 individuals convicted to this Penitentiary last year, 153 were of this associated class, and the crimes of 60 were of the highest grades against persons and property. These consequences are assuredly the direct result of that exceptional condition in our social or domestic relations" (p. 17).

¹ With reference to the large numbers of men "fresh from the excitement and comparative freedom from moral restraint incident to camp life" who had found their way into this penitentiary the report also says:

"Many of these freely admit that the inducements to break away from early home restraint while engaged in military life, were too strong for them to resist. These important facts are alluded to for the purpose of enlisting a deeper interest in the moral and social welfare of the homeless and comparatively friendless class of young men who have but recently returned from the army and navy to civil life. A large number of those, above alluded to, have fallen under the ban of the law for the first time, and the crimes of which they were convicted were committed while under the influence of intoxicating drinks."

Members of the Committee on Discharged Prisoners of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons were gravely concerned about the welfare of the young prisoners who had been in the army or navy. In a report presented in December, 1865, the Committee refer to the fact that these young soldiers were

nearly all first convictions. In conversing with them it is admitted that the moral hedge has been weakened by the army associations and practices. . . . It is a painful reflection that men who have periled their lives for the stability of our Government should be brought into this situation, some having long sentences. It is a suggestion whether something can not be done to alleviate their condition.

Another pitiable aspect of the situation was that the discharged soldiers were often more fit for a hospital than for a prison. The report of the state prison commissioner of Wisconsin notes, for example, in 1866 that

many of the prisoners received who have served in the army were physically in a very lamentable condition, being unfit for any manual labor. . . . Proper medical treatment, however, will soon restore their impaired health, and our sanitary rules and regulations are well calculated to make their cure a permanent one.

In his report to the inspectors of the Penitentiary in Albany, New York, the prison physician said in 1868:

I do not remember a year during my service at the Institution when so large a proportion of the number committed came to us in what may be called a sickly condition, without positive well-defined diseases, but languid and much debilitated by the effects of intemperance and licentious indulgence. The ten day cases—convictions for public intoxication—have been numerous and have required much of our care and attention; all of little avail, however, for to judge from the frequency with which these persons return to the Penitentiary, their brief season of abstinence, instead of quenching the appetite for strong drink only enhances its intensity.¹

In Kansas the physician of the state penitentiary reported in 1867 that "a large portion of those received during the year have been from the army. They have come to us with constitutions shattered by wounds, disease or intemperance."

In the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania prisoners who had been in the army and were physically unfit for work were received

¹ *Twentieth Annual Report*, p. 33.

in the prison as early as 1863, and attention is called more than once to the physical incapacity of the ex-soldiers received after the disbanding of the army in 1865.¹ Large numbers of these demobilized men were received in the latter part of 1865, and they were said to be "bodily and mentally of a low average grade . . . they being the refuse of military camps and hospitals, whilst not one in fifty had ever served a month in the acquisition of any useful or respectable means of livelihood." The report from this prison in 1865 noted that out of 257 convicts received during the year "153 were lately in the army and the general physical condition of the larger number of them would better justify their admission to a hospital. It is observed," the report continues, "that the grade of crime is much higher and the sentences are longer than appears in the average of former years."

Frequently, however, a deep feeling of pity was aroused by accounts of former soldiers who had been sentenced to the penitentiaries, and as early as 1867 a new prison-reform movement was organized to improve the prisons that were being filled with the soldiers and sailors to whom the nation owed the deepest gratitude. In an article in the *North American Review* in 1866, the new interest in prison conditions was discussed. People were learning that American prisons were far from being successful as institutions of reform. Public opinion was challenged by the demonstrated fact that the good prisons were "almost ineffective for good, the indifferent tending toward evil, and the bad fearfully developing and generating crime," and the question was asked, How can we rest under the thought that they are exercising their most harmful influence upon thousands of these brave men? In the same *Review* in the following year, a writer who dwelt upon the fact that the prisons in the loyal states were full of men who had so recently been the defenders of the Union, noted with satisfaction "the interest in prison conditions on the part of many who had never before felt the importance of reforming the discipline of prisoners."

Prisoners' aid societies were organized in many states where such organizations had not existed before. Jeremiah Willits, a Philadelphia Quaker, representing the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating

¹ See, e.g., *Report for 1865*, pp. 6 and 91.

the Miseries of Public Prisons, visited a large number of states to assist in the organization of such societies.

He found, he says, that

good men in every place were prepared for the work of forming Prison Aid Societies. Some had already entered into the work; preliminary meetings were held and committees appointed to carry into effect the organization of societies in the following principal cities viz.: Wilmington, Del., Wheeling, W.Va., Columbus, Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio, Michigan City and Indianapolis, Indiana, Jackson and Detroit, Michigan.

Mr. Willits reported that in places as remotely separated as Joliet, Illinois, and Baltimore, Maryland, there had been societies for several years. Organizations were also under way in Washington, D.C., Jeffersonville, Indiana, and Louisville, Kentucky. At Pittsburgh an auxiliary society was in process of formation, and those connected with it had already been instrumental in reforming the county jail and had appointed an agent to aid in carrying on the work.

The tour of Jeremiah Willits was extensive. In Chicago he found 112 inmates in the county jail, "mostly young men who had been in the army"; in the penitentiary at Jackson, Michigan, 429 men, and "two-thirds of the late admissions had been in the army." In the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio, there were 850 inmates, with three-fourths of the recent admissions from the army. Here also he found in the poorhouse "a number of little children, some the offspring of girls following the army"; in the city jail of Cincinnati, he visited 34 men, 25 of whom had been in the army or navy; in Lewistown, Kentucky, 75 prisoners were seen, and three-fourths of these had been in the army. In summarizing his experiences, this energetic prison reformer said: "My impression is that the number who have been in the army in every place I have visited will average nearly 75 per cent of recent admissions, mostly first convictions."

A movement to secure conditional pardons for some of the young soldiers who had been sent to prison was a further indication of the prevailing sympathy for the men whose actual services at the front had apparently been the cause of their downfall. Thus the Prisoners' Aid Society of Pennsylvania believed that

these young men from the army and navy . . . had not sunk deep into the mire and that timely interference might save them. . . . Most of those young men seemed more accessible to kindness and good advice and more willing to enter upon a better course. . . . Many have felt encouraged to seek pardons for some of these soldier and sailor convicts. And . . . the executive of this state seems to have had pleasure in extending clemency to this class of men. . . . Many pardoned with knowledge and aid of society . . . not known that one of them has returned to the crimes which followed his service in the army.¹

In Massachusetts, where the State Prison at Charlestown had a largely increased population, the presence of so many of the young "defenders of the Union" in an overcrowded prison was made the basis of a plea for conditional pardon or parole. The warden said in urging the necessity of parole:

It cannot be doubted that many of them are subjects for reformation; while towards all who have faithfully fought for the Union we are compelled to entertain feelings unlike those with which we regard the ordinary felon. If, therefore, there is anything in a system of Conditional Pardon which can aid these soldiers and sailors to regain their forfeited place among good citizens, their great preponderance among recent criminals is a strong argument in its favor.

The Prisons are crowded—Conditional Pardon would relieve them; they are crowded with returned soldiers—common gratitude bids us see what can be done for their redemption.²

Whether or not the prison population was disproportionate to the male population of the country during the years after the war, a fact which it is impossible to prove or disprove statistically, it is clear that even what would have been considered a normal prison population before the war made a new and deep impression upon the public mind now that the occupants of the prisons were the same boys who had flocked to Lincoln's armies and whose sufferings and heroism were a matter of recent memory. Society felt no responsibility for the young men who filled the prisons before the war. But when the prisoners of after-war days were the young "veterans" of those grand armies of the Republic to whom a nation's gratitude was due, there was a genuine desire to get them out of prison if possible, and if this were not possible, so to improve prison condi-

¹ *Journal of Prison Discipline and Philanthropy* (New Series), No. 6 (January, 1867), p. 50.

² *Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities*, p. 100.

tions that the young soldiers who could not be released from them should not suffer too cruelly from the effects of their imprisonment. Thus a contemporary writer said:

We cannot look with unconcern upon the thousands of veterans now lying in our prisons though their crimes may have been heinous and their punishment deserved. A man who has lost one arm in the defense of the nation, working with the others at the convict's bench, is not an agreeable spectacle, nor do we like to see the comrades of Grant and Sherman, of Foote and Farragut, exchange the blue coat of victory for the prison jacket.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PRESENT PROVISION FOR TRAINING OF CHILDREN'S WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES

THERE is no field of social work that is more complicated in organization and development than that of work for children. In it may be included such varied services as the following: the care of children in institutions, in foster homes for adoption, in temporary shelters, in free boarding and wage homes without any consideration of adoption; the care of children in day nurseries; the investigation of cases of dependent children with the hope that readjustment of their own homes may be brought about either through regular relief funds or through mothers' assistance funds; the investigation of delinquent children and probation service; the protection of children from neglect, cruelty, and immorality; the protection of children from exploitation through child labor; the work of visiting teachers; the social service connected with child guidance clinics; the planning and supervision involved in a recreational program.

For the purpose of this paper, we shall confine ourselves, however, to a discussion of the training of those who will be employed in social case work, and specifically that division of social case work which deals distinctly with children's problems.

The standard of care of socially dependent children, who, according to the federal census of 1923, numbered about 250,000 being cared for away from their own homes, is on the whole poor, although there are a number of agencies that must certainly be classed as doing excellent work, and an additional group doing fair work. The care of these children is an old service, almost to be classed as an old occupation, with deep-rooted habits of practice that have survived in large measure whatever usefulness they may once have had. This service is enmeshed in sentiment which, however kindly, makes the work ineffective unless it becomes enlightened by knowledge. It is safe to say that the quality of work done in behalf of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children ranges all the way from excellence

to such a degree of inefficiency and malpractice as almost justifies legal prosecution in certain localities. Organizations and communities that have remained on levels of self-satisfied conservatism cannot project themselves into higher standards of practice except as the personnel of these conservative organizations can be persuaded to change their point of view or, when opportunity presents itself, a better personnel can be substituted.

The problem that confronts a national organization like the Child Welfare League of America is, therefore, not one of publishing information regarding new standards of care, but of busying itself with the problem of how to get these standards accepted by the superintendents, house mothers, and attendants of children's institutions, and by the general secretaries, supervisors, and visitors of child-placing agencies.

As a result of the surveys that the League has made, and also with the impetus that has come out of individual agencies, the recommendations to institutions and other child-caring agencies generally include a recommendation for the appointment of a better-trained personnel.

At the present time positions requiring high personal qualifications and tested experience frequently go unfilled or are filled by workers of second-rate ability and mediocre experience because there are no adequate facilities in the nation for their training.

Such training as is necessary should, in our judgment, whenever possible be built upon college or university work, although there are at present not a large enough number of persons who have this foundation, and we should regret to see opportunities for training limited entirely to graduate students.

It is reasonable to assume that all the members of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work train for family case work, and many provide supervised field work in connection with it. While we deem this kind of training valuable, it does not meet the needs for trained children's workers. The number of schools that provide special courses in child welfare with supervised field service is very limited, for the names of these schools can practically be counted on the fingers of one hand. There must be some fundamental reason for this lack. There was a time in the past when the family case work

of associated charities or charity organization societies was the only form of case work recognized in the various parts of the country, perhaps with the exception of New England. This time has gone by.

In our judgment, there is a generic social case work which deals with the various problems in relation to the family. These forms are various. The following have already been recognized and differentiated: family welfare work, child welfare work, medical social service, psychiatric social service, probation, travelers' aid and migration service, the visiting teacher work.

All of these are dealing with different phases of service to individuals in their family relation. The family and the individual's rightful place in it or in some foster family is fundamental to that service. There are, however, these various special kinds of service for which training must be obtained.

Without going into extensive differentiation of the various fields, which would in the present stage be extremely difficult, it will be generally agreed that there is a specialized field of social work for children. There will also be general agreement with the statement that no children's worker can be considered properly equipped who does not have some knowledge and experience in family rehabilitation, in understanding the procedure for the investigation of foster homes, the effective methods of supervision, the use of the law in connection with problems of children born out of wedlock, and children brutally treated or living under immoral conditions, etc.

It goes without saying that we are not pleading for any less training in the field of family welfare. What we wish to do is rather to bring to the attention of the members of the Association of Schools of Social Work the additional need of training for the various phases of work in the child welfare field.

To meet the needs that the Child Welfare League of America has found among its members, it has instituted a form of service which is perhaps worthy of mention. Beginning November, 1924, we offered the service of one of our staff members who has had wide experience and has teaching ability as a traveling teacher of case work to children's agencies for a period of not less than six weeks and at a price that was less than cost. Various children's agencies have availed themselves of such service. The original period of six weeks

has been extended in several instances to eight weeks, and at another time to seven weeks.

In this period of six to eight weeks little can be done except to establish certain broad principles of practice and to stimulate an interest in further training, not only in the methods of children's case work, but also in the contributions to be obtained from such related fields as mental hygiene, medicine, psychology, and law. The traveling teacher becomes a member of the staff in a supervisory capacity, takes actual charge of all, or, as is usually the case, part, of the case work which the agency takes on as new during her stay. Thus she discovers at once from her contacts with the workers weaknesses of methods or deficiency of understanding or practice that must be corrected, and uses the concrete cases of the workers themselves for her teaching material.

This use of a traveling teacher is but one of the expedients that we feel must be adopted. We have discussed, though we have not yet instituted, certain centers for practice training, and it is possible that in connection with one of the schools such a center may be instituted during the coming year where a certain number of social workers actually at work in the children's field may come for a period of five months into what might best be termed an apprenticeship plan. Most of the time would be spent in a modern child-placing agency under the direction of a competent supervisor, who would also contribute one or more lecture courses for the training of the group.

The course should be designed solely to give those who are already actually engaged in children's work an opportunity to secure practical training in the processes of case work as applied in a modern children's agency. It is not intended for beginners, for those who have no experience in the children's field; nor is it intended in any way to be a substitute for a full professional course in a school of social work. Not more than six students will be accepted at any one time for this course. There will doubtless be two such groups in the course of a year. There would be no charge for tuition, but the student or the agency or both would have to carry the expense of maintenance during the five months. For registration in such a course it is probable that schools now requiring a college degree for admission will consent to waive this requirement. Inquiries are now being sent

to our various members throughout the country asking whether such students are available. Neither of the two plans, as already stated, is intended as a substitute for a complete course in a school of social work.

The situation in the country as a whole, however, is critical. Agencies are asking for trained workers in the children's field. In a large measure they do not exist. What shall be done? The members of the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work are requested to study the situation in their own constituent neighborhoods, to recognize the fact that children's work is a special form of social case work, and to confer with us, if it is desired, as to the best methods of meeting these needs in the centers in which their work lies.

C. C. CARSTENS

CHILD WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA
NEW YORK CITY

EDITORIAL COMMENT¹

As a leader in the children's field, the director of the Child Welfare League puts squarely before the schools of social work two questions: (1) Will they help in the training of those who are already engaged in children's work but who are poorly equipped for this work? (2) Are they now giving to their present students the specialized training needed for workers in the child welfare field?

As to the first point, there will be a cordial and generous response. For those who are already engaged in social work but who have not the required prerequisite of a college degree, many of the schools will certainly "let down the bars" provided the applicants have a sufficiently good basic education to make it possible for them to profit by the work.

With regard to the second point there may be differences of opinion. The tendency in some of the schools is certainly away from the extremely specialized "training course" for a single field toward a broader curriculum that will give the student a better understanding of social work as a whole. A useful comparison may be made with legal education. A good law school does not "train" men to be criminal lawyers or patent lawyers, but instead provides a sound legal education covering general principles in all the important fields.

At the present time the majority of new social workers are, unfortunately, still recruited by social agencies directly from the colleges or the local communities where the work is being done. Of the minority who attend the schools of

¹ With the consent of Dr. Carstens, the editors take the liberty of adding a note on this important subject from the point of view of the representatives of some of the professional schools.

social work, a very small proportion remain for a longer period than a single academic year. Two questions therefore must be faced: (1) Can specialized field work with a children's agency be included in the eight months' curriculum? (2) Can more students be persuaded to stay beyond the period of one year for this specialized field work training?

The answer to the first question is that adequate preparation for social work cannot be provided in a single year, and, if further and more specialized field work is added, something else that is important must be subtracted.

With regard to the second question, it is clear that, if students are to be persuaded to stay on for a longer period of training that will make possible adequate specialization, the schools must be assured that the students who have so specialized can be placed in satisfactory positions at salaries adequate to compensate for the further period of preparation. It is certainly true that, in the past, the children's field has often seemed a not very promising field of employment. The salaries have frequently been disgracefully low, and there has not seemed to be a reasonable opportunity for promotion. If salaries are to be no higher and promotion no more rapid, there is little inducement to the student to make the sacrifices that a further period of study requires.

Certainly there has been a great advance in standards in the children's field in the last decade, and along with this advance has been an improved salary schedule. But if the student is to be given a good understanding of general principles and the basic field-work training with a family welfare agency, it seems probable that until salaries are considerably higher the specialized agencies must expect to bear some of the costs of the training themselves. That is, the students must be paid while they are getting the specialized field training upon which the Child Welfare League insists.

The professional schools hope and expect that the time will come in the not too distant future when some standard of professional education will be required for all new social workers. The student who has had one year at a school of social work not infrequently finds herself working with others who have had no professional training, and with very little, if any, difference in salary. Until the level for the whole group can be raised, too much cannot be expected of those who have already made heavy sacrifices to secure their one year of professional education.

EXPERIMENTS IN ADOPTION LEGISLATION¹

I. IN THE UNITED STATES

THE process of adoption has been for a long time recognized by social workers as of very great importance, and during the past fifteen years in a considerable number of states much effort has gone into securing revision of the laws fixing the conditions under which adoption might be accomplished. Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania are among the states which have revised their laws on this subject. The subject was of such wide interest that the United States Children's Bureau published in 1925² a summary of the adoption statutes of the different states. And not only has there been interest in amending the statutes; there has also been an effort to learn the extent to which the procedure is resorted to and to interpret the effects of adoption as a method of social treatment.

The subject was to some extent investigated and the results evaluated in a study made by the New York State Charities Aid Association, *How Foster Children Turn Out*.³ An inquiry into the subject of the adoption of children in Indiana was also made relating to the year 1924, which laid emphasis on the extent of the practice.⁴ The Welfare Federation of Cleveland issued in 1925 *A Study of Adoptions in Cuyahoga County, July 1, 1922, to June 30, 1923*, and various other inquiries have been undertaken by social agencies which are primarily interested in adoption as a form of social treatment and the numbers of individuals to whom this type of treatment is administered.

But one comprehensive inquiry seems to have been made by a public authority in this country: that is the study by the Commission to Study and Revise the Statutes of Pennsylvania Relating

¹ This article has been taken, by permission of the publishers, from a forthcoming monograph on "Adoption in Illinois," by Elinor Nims, to be published in the near future by the University of Chicago Press.

² *Publication No. 148, Adoption Laws in the United States*, by Emelyn F. Peck.

³ By Sophie Van Senden Theis, 1924.

⁴ *Adoption in Indiana*, by Helen Pearson.

to Children, which reported to the General Assembly in 1925. An intensive analysis was made of the "nature and extent of the practice of adoption" in Philadelphia County during a four and one-half year period from January 1, 1919, to June 30, 1924. The Commission also reported on the findings of a study of adoption made by the Department of Public Welfare in thirteen other counties of the state during a two-year period, 1922-23. Growing out of the findings of this Commission, an act recommended by the Commission was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1925.¹

Minnesota is frequently referred to as a state which has gone far in working out its problems of child care. The special feature of its legislation relating to child adoption is the degree of state control exercised. The amendment of 1917 to the Minnesota adoption act provides:

Upon the filing of a petition for the adoption of a minor child the court shall notify the state board of control. It shall then be the duty of the board to verify the allegations of the petition, to investigate the condition and antecedents of the child for the purpose of ascertaining whether he is a proper subject for adoption, and to make appropriate inquiry to determine whether the proposed foster home is a suitable home for the child. The board shall as soon as practicable submit to the court a full report in writing, with a recommendation as to the granting of the petition and any other information regarding the child or the proposed home which the court shall require.²

This statute endows the Board of Control with powers of investigation and recommendation, leaving the enforcement of the recommendations entirely in the hands of the court. In relation to placed-out children, the Board acts to a degree as an agency of enforcement. If a placement be unsatisfactory, the Board has the legal authority to order the return of the child to the agency responsible. As some of the children who are adopted, previously were considered placed out, the Board actually does control in part the conditions under which the children are adopted. In this connection it is of value to examine the figures showing the action of the courts on disapproved petitions for adoption of children. As reported in 1922, 22 per cent of the petitions recommended for disapproval by the Board of Control during the period January 1, 1918, to June 30, 1922, were

¹ *Laws of Pennsylvania* (1925), No. 93, "An Act Relating to Adoption."

² *General Statutes, Minnesota* (1923), chap. 73, Sec. 8625.

granted by the court.¹ This ratio has decreased to 8 per cent for the biennial period July 1, 1922, to June 30, 1924,² showing an increasing acceptance by the courts of the recommendations of the Board.

The amendments made in 1921 to the adoption law of Ohio have called forth comment, especially from workers in neighboring states. The most significant feature of this act is the provision for investigation of the petition by an authorized agency or institution.³ This point is discussed in the *Study of Adoption in Cuyahoga County* in the following language:

In Ohio the intent of the law is clearly that the court shall have specific information concerning both the family and the child through investigation. It was intended, although the law says "may," that the State Board of Charities, County Home or some accredited children's agency should make the investigation and verify the allegations in the petition. However, in practice frequently blanks are filled in by the attorney of the foster parents, some court attaché, or even not prepared at all. Only 29 reports in the 66 cases studied were found filed. In 37 cases no reports were attached to the record. On the 29 reports, 27 were by agencies, one by the next friend, one not given. Blanks filled in by the children's agencies on the whole appear satisfactory, but those prepared by other individuals lacked much of the required information.⁴

Section 8030 (1) of the Ohio adoption law provides that the child shall have been in the home at least six months prior to entering the decree of adoption unless the court waives this provision. The purpose of this section has not been realized, for the petitions for adoption have been filed when the child has been in the home for very short periods of time. To meet the letter of the law, the decrees have not been entered until the six months' period has elapsed since the child was taken into the adopting home.⁵

From this study of the actual practice of the Ohio courts, the conclusion was reached that effect has not been given the various provisions of the statute, despite the forward-looking provisions of the law.

¹ *Report of the Children's Bureau of the Minnesota State Board of Control* (1922), p. 7.

² *Ibid.* (1924), p. 6.

³ *Laws of Ohio* (1921), p. 177, "An Act . . . Relative to Adoption of Children," Sec. 8024 (1).

⁴ *Study of Adoption in Cuyahoga County, July 1, 1922, to June 30, 1923* (Welfare Federation of Cleveland, 1925), p. 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

II. IN ENGLAND

One reason why the subject of adoption legislation is important is that it is not a feature of the common law, but is in fact in derogation of the common law. In England, until January 1, 1927, it was impossible for a parent to surrender his rights in respect to his child through any such legal process. However, there has been agitation for the passage of an act enabling a parent so to divest himself of his parental rights. In response to this agitation, a committee on child adoption was appointed which reported to Parliament in 1921. The committee recommended that an act should be passed "to give legal recognition to the adoption of children carried out in the method prescribed and to secure that the adopter and the adopted child should have rights and duties *inter se* similar to those between natural parents and their children."¹ The committee went farther and considered other problems of child welfare which bear on the problem of adoption. They recommended that the Children's Act of 1908 be amended in such a way as to provide supervision of children placed out who are not formally adopted; that children born out of wedlock be legitimated by the subsequent marriage of their parents; and that the whole legislation relating to children be given consideration, amended where necessary, and consolidated into one comprehensive code. This committee thoroughly indorsed the idea of child adoption, basing their recommendation on a careful investigation of the situation in England. Parliament enacted no law on the basis of this study, but three years later again referred the matter to a committee for study.

The second committee was appointed in 1924 "to examine the problem of child adoption from the point of view of possible legislation and to report upon the main provisions which in their view should be included in any bill on the subject."² The committee submitted its first report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on April 6, 1925. It employed the method of hearings

¹ Great Britain, Parliament, *Report of the Committee on Child Adoption* (1921; Cmd. 1254), p. 1.

² Great Britain, Parliament, *First Report of the Child Adoption Committee* (1925; Cmd. 2401), p. 3.

supplemented by two memoranda for securing the information on which the findings of the committee were based.

After discussing and discarding several arguments for legislation on this subject, the committee decided that the only ground for entertaining the idea of adoption legislation was to give the relation between the adopting parent and the child a form of community sanction. A review of their findings will serve to show present-day thinking on the matter of child adoption uncomplicated by any legislative experience on the subject.

The committee decided in favor of the judicial proceeding as the means of effecting this community sanction. "The transaction [adoption] is one which may affect the status of the child and have far-reaching consequences, and from its nature is not one in which, without judicial investigation, there is likely to be any competent independent consideration of the matter from the point of view of the welfare of the child."¹

There was a recognition of the intimate relation of illegitimacy and adoption, which was discussed as follows:

Inasmuch as many cases of adoption in fact have their origin in the social or economic pressure exercised by circumstances upon the mother of an illegitimate child, it is desirable that there should be some safeguard against the use of a legal system of adoption as an instrument by which advantage may be taken of the mother's situation to compel her to make a surrender of her child final in character, though she may herself, if a free agent, desire nothing more than a temporary provision for it. Further, there are many who hold that a system of adoption, so far as it tends to encourage or increase the separation of mother and child, may of itself be an evil and should be therefore, if introduced, operated with caution. These and other considerations justify the conclusion that, if there is to be a legal transfer of parental rights and duties, it should be one which receives some form of judicial sanction.²

The committee came to the conclusion that the magistrates should be given jurisdiction over adoptions because they are local tribunals and because they are already holding juvenile courts which treat of problems akin to those inherent in adoptions. To the end that the adoption proceeding should remain a real adjudication, the committee further recommended the appointment of a guardian *ad litem*.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

The legal effect of an adoption was dealt with most cautiously. The adopted child should stand to the adopting parent as he had previously stood to his natural parent before adoption, except in relation to succession and marriage. The child's relation to his natural family should remain unaltered by adoption as regards succession, but the court should be given power to require the adopting parents to make some provision for the child. In regard to marriage, the report states:

" . . . We are against the introduction of artificial prohibitions. The blood tie cannot be severed; the existing prohibitions arising thereout must remain, and it is repugnant to common sense to make artificial offences the result of a purely artificial relationship. The relationship of guardian and ward does not today preclude intermarriage, and the adopting parent will only hold the position of a special guardian. We therefore recommend that legalized adoption should have no effect in this regard at all.¹

Three other significant topics are discussed in the report. First, an age qualification is suggested; namely, that there be a difference of at least twenty-one years between the age of the adopting parent and that of the child, and that no one under twenty-five should be allowed to adopt.

The second of these topics concerns the revocation of an adoption decree. The committee held the notion of revocation to be inconsistent with the theory of adoption. They pointed out that the adopted child, like the natural child, could be the subject of adoption, which is, in a sense, a method of revoking the first adoption. For legal purposes they recommend that

before the final order of adoption is made, there should always be a probationary period of such length, not exceeding in any case two years, as the tribunal shall fix. During the probationary period the child will live with the adopting parent on such terms and conditions as the tribunal shall approve; but until the final order is made the legal consequences of adoption shall not follow.²

The third topic, the secrecy of the proceedings, is dealt with in a telling manner:

There are those who attach great importance to an element of secrecy in adoption transactions and by secrecy is meant not merely that the transaction itself should not be a matter of common notoriety, but that the parties themselves should not become known to each other; that is to say, that the natural

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 9.

parent shall not know where the child goes, even though the adopters may know whence the child comes. . . . This notion of secrecy has its origin partly in a fear (which a legalized system of adoption should go far to dispel) that the natural parent will seek to interfere with the adopter, and partly in the belief that if the eyes can be closed to facts, the facts themselves will cease to exist; so that it will be an advantage to an illegitimate child who has been adopted if in fact his origin cannot be traced. Apart from the question whether it is desirable or even admissible deliberately to eliminate or obscure the traces of a child's origin so that it shall be difficult or impossible thereafter for such origin to be ascertained, we think that this system of secrecy would be wholly unnecessary and objectionable in connection with a legalized system of adoption, and we should deprecate any attempt to introduce it. This does not, however, mean that we think that the tribunal having jurisdiction in adoption should not be free to deal with such cases in chambers where the public and press are not admitted, or that there should not be a limitation on the right of the public to information in relation to the Register.¹

An act conforming largely to these suggestions was passed August 4, 1926, becoming effective January 1, 1927.² Under this statute, the jurisdiction is in the high court or, at the option of the petitioner, in the county court, or court of summary jurisdiction in the area in which the applicant or the infant resides. And, under the authority granted by the law, the lord chancellor may make rules providing for the hearing and determination of adoption orders otherwise than in open court or in the juvenile court. In reply to the question of who may adopt, the statute provides that a person at least twenty-five years of age and twenty-one years older than the infant can, with the consent of the spouse, adopt an infant. The consent of the parent or guardian must be obtained, except in cases in which the child has for more than two years been supported and cared for by the applicant as his own, in which case parental consent may be dispensed with, and the court must be satisfied that the nature of the order is understood by the parties and that the order will be for the welfare of the child. The court may, if uncertain, postpone the determination and make a temporary order giving the applicant custody of the child for a probationary period of not over two years. An "adopted-children" register is to be set up by the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

² *Law Reports, The Statutes*, 16 and 17 George V, chap. 29, "Adoption of Children Act."

registrar-general, and direction that an entry be made in this register is to be an item in an adoption order. When an adopted child is identified with a child whose birth registration is already recorded, the word "adopted" will be added to the birth record and the date of birth to the adoption registry. An index of the adopted-children register is to be open, and certified copies of entries are to be supplied as in the case of copies of birth and death registration.

It will be observed that all these acts and proposals have one feature in common. They all contemplate an increased measure of state control together with the more effective provision for examining the situation with the child's welfare in view, and consequently a better chance of arriving at a decision in accordance with the needs of the child.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' PENSIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN

ALLOWANCES to widows and orphans are now provided for in Great Britain by a statute that went into effect January 4, 1926.¹ This statute, which also includes old-age pensions, belongs to the long series of social insurance acts that have been enacted in the last thirty years, including the Workmen's Compensation Act (1897), the Old Age Pensions Act (1908), and the National (Health and Unemployment) Insurance Act (1911). Mr. Neville Chamberlain, the Minister of Health, in presenting the bill to the House of Commons for second reading (May 18, 1925), said that this legislation was founded "on the recognition of the fact that a state of society in which a large part of society no longer produce the necessaries of life, but depend upon continuous employment in other occupations to obtain the means of purchasing, involves a constant menace and risk to the security of the worker and therefore a corresponding need for providing against that risk."

The new statute, unlike the Workmen's Compensation Act and the first old-age pensions acts, is based on the contributory principle and in this respect is like the Insurance Act of 1911. It provides in general that the widow of an insured man dying after January 4, 1926, shall be entitled to a pension of ten shillings until she reaches the age of seventy, when she comes into the old-age pension system, or until she remarries. If she has young children dependent upon her, she receives an additional allowance of five shillings in respect of the eldest, and three shillings each in respect of the others, until they reach the age of fourteen. If the mother dies, orphan allowances are payable at a higher rate, namely, 7*s.* 6*d.* for the first child, and 6*s.* for each of the others.

It is unnecessary to call attention to certain provisions of the measure intended to prevent fraud, but the qualifications of the beneficiaries, the rates of contribution, the classes exempted from the

¹ The statute became a law August 7, 1925. L. R. 15 & 16 Geo. V, chap. 70.

provisions of the bill,¹ and the methods proposed for its administration are of interest:

The rates of contribution, which began January 4, 1926, are *9d.* for a man, which the employer and employee share equally, $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ each, and $4\frac{1}{2}d.$ for a woman, the employer paying $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ and the employee *2d.* These rates are, unless Parliament in the meantime provides to the contrary, to increase in the decade 1936-46 by two pence for the men and one penny for the women, the increase to be divided equally between the employer and the employee, and a similar increase is to occur for the following decade.

These contributions are payable in respect of every employed person under seventy years of age until January 2, 1928; after that date contributions by insured persons, but not of the employers, cease to be payable when the worker becomes sixty-five years old, when his right to sickness and disablement benefit under the Health Insurance Act and to unemployment benefit likewise cease.

In addition to these contributions the Exchequer will contribute at the rate of £4,000,000 a year for ten years, beginning in 1926-27, and after that in such amounts as Parliament may determine. The Government Actuary is to report on the financial position of the scheme in 1935 and every succeeding tenth year after that.

As to the collection of contributions, the new act will impose no new burden on the employer, as this payment will be combined with payments under the Health Insurance Act, and the arrangements for payment and collection under that act apply automatically to payments under the new scheme. Of the propriety of treating this as a health measure, Sir Arthur Newsholme, speaking at the London Conference on Social Insurance, said:

There can be no doubt as to the value of all the existing forms of social insurance and of the forthcoming extensions in respect of old age and of widows and children. They all help to decrease the haunting fear, the nightmare which in the past beset the thoughts of all intelligent wage-earners. This cause of mental stress and anxiety is inevitably inimical to health and to have even partially

¹ The Ministry of Health presented a memorandum explanatory of the bill (Cmd. 2405), and issued January 1, 1926, a Circular (No. 660) to County Councils and Sanitary Authorities, calling attention to the provisions of the bill. See also the *Parliamentary Debates*.

removed it is scarcely less beneficent than the actual provision against unemployment, whether due to industrial conditions, to accident, or to sickness, now made for one third of the population of the country.¹

The administration, so far as the central authority is concerned, is in the Ministry of Health. Certain assistance is required of the local authority, the borough or the county council, who may, however, make arrangements under certain conditions with the sanitary authority within the jurisdiction. The central authority may, for example, call on the local authority for information (clause 40), and there is provision for dealing with the situation when the mother of dependent children is unfit, so that they are removed from her care (clause 6), in which case the child may receive the orphan's rate of allowance. It is estimated that the cost of the scheme to the local authority will be slight.

All claims for pensions are made to the central authority, and an applicant dissatisfied with the decision may appeal to certain referees selected from a panel to be appointed in accordance with regulations framed by the National Health Insurance Joint Committee (clause 28).

Arrangements are authorized so that the necessary certificates of birth, death, and marriage can be obtained at reduced fees, and for the payment of the pensions through the post-office.

There are interesting provisions with reference to possible disqualifications (clause 21) and to the protection of the interests of widows and children (clause 6); and penalties are of course provided for knowingly receiving pensions to which one is not entitled (clause 35).

The act came into effect, as has been said, on January 4, 1926, and the report of the first year's administration is not yet available. The inauguration of the scheme is, however, described by the Minister of Health in his Report for the year ending April 1, 1926.² In the first place, information with reference to the act was made available early in September, 1925, through the post-office, and arrangements were made for prospective applicants to receive advice and assistance from the local inspector of national health insurance or

¹ *Social Insurance in Its National and International Aspects* (London, 1926), p. 64.

² *Seventh Annual Report of the Ministry of Health* (Cmd. 2724), pp. 128 f.

the officer of customs and excise. Applications were investigated locally by the Outdoor Staff of the Ministry of Health, assisted at first by officers from the customs and excise. After investigation, claims were sent to the department with a report from the investigating officer, the claimant being always notified of the result of the application; and, when necessary, of the right of appeal. In many cases "lengthy and detailed inquiries" are said to have been found necessary in order to determine when the statutory conditions were fulfilled.

In some instances the information which the claimant was able to give about the deceased husband was vague by reason of lapse of time since the date of death, and there was consequent difficulty in obtaining records of insurance. In other cases variation of circumstances affecting the husband during the latter part of his life made it hard to determine whether his "normal occupation" when he died was such as to satisfy the statutory requirements, and not infrequently the husband was alleged to have been insurably employed, although contributions had not been paid by him Questions affecting records of birth, marriage or death, legitimacy of children, validity of marriage, and disqualifications arising from the receipt of workmen's compensation or service dependents' pensions, were also very numerous, and made it necessary to arrange for reference to be made to the records of the General Register Office, Ministry of Pensions, and other sources. Consideration had to be given also to questions affecting the application of the scheme to children resident in institutions, and to the arrangements for reimbursing boards of guardians the amount of poor-law relief paid to certain widows pending settlement of their claims for widows' pensions.¹

Under the act there were two sets of claims: (1) those where the husbands or fathers had died before January 4, 1926. Of those claiming to be in this group, 138,126 had applications; 99,503 were granted allowances involving the care and support of 187,397 children.² The amount paid under this provision for the week ending March 27, 1926, was approximately £94,000. (2) For orphans whose parents had died before January 4, 1926, 9,606 claims were received; 7,554 pensions were awarded in behalf of 9,805 children, with 150 claims under consideration. On this account £3,400 was paid during the week ending March 27, 1926.

For widows whose husbands died or children whose parents died

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

² Four hundred and five claims were still under consideration. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

after January 4, 1926, the figures¹ given are as follows: Widows, claims received, 5,576; pensions awarded, 5,079; number of children concerned, 7,473; claims still under consideration, 102; amount paid during the week ending March 27, 1926, £3,900. For the orphans whose parents died after January 4, 1926, the figures are: number of claims received, 120; number of pensions awarded, 80, concerning 140 children, with 28 claims under consideration. Fifty-five pounds was the amount paid out under this section during the week ending March 27.

To be more specific with reference to the benefits, the act provides for the payment of pensions to the following classes of persons at the following rates: (1) widows' pensions: ten shillings a week for the widow of an insured man who dies after the date of the commencement of the scheme and was under seventy at the time of his death, with an additional allowance for children up to the age of fourteen, or sixteen if they are in school, at the rate of five shillings a week for the oldest child and three shillings for each of the younger children. The pension is payable to the widow until she reaches seventy or remarries. (2) There are allowances for orphans at higher rates. The conditions to be fulfilled are (1) that the insured person has paid 104 contributions or been insured two full years; or, (2) where four years have elapsed since the worker began to pay his contributions, he must have paid an average of not less than twenty-six weeks in each of the four years. There is provision for voluntary contributions (clause 13).

As was indicated above, the scheme is administered as a part of the health insurance scheme, and its inauguration seems to have been effected with unexpected smoothness. This does not mean, of course, that the act was not the occasion of bitter disappointment and the subject of severe criticism. From the time of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws² of 1909, especially through the discussions of the minority of that Commission and the work of various organizations for the reform or abolition of the Poor Law, the doctrine of adequate relief had been given wide publicity. The mothers' allowance plan had, in fact, been urged by many groups having in mind different social objectives. In the minority report of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

² Part IV, chap. vi, par. 303 (7).

Commission, for example, "adequate alimony in the home that was not below the national minimum of child care and sanitation" was urged as a measure in treatment of family distress and a step toward better industrial organization; for the mothers receiving these allowances were no longer to be disturbing factors in the labor market.¹ For the feminist group, widows' pensions, like schemes for family endowment, were looked upon as devices for dignifying the position of the wife and reducing the economic dependence of the wife on the husband. They have urged the claim of the mother of dependent children, and have argued that the cost of bringing up the children of the next generation should rest on the community as a whole and not on one section of it, whether it be the employers or the employed or both. They have argued that "the receipt of a pension by the widow of a man who has fallen by the way in industry is no more a dole than is the pension of a war widow."²

The new scheme was therefore met with severe criticism on the ground that it was contributory instead of on a universal non-contributory basis.

Organizations like the Women's Co-operative Guild argued that the pension should be paid to the mother (the widow) as a matter of right. A contributory scheme, in their judgment, is a burden on the productive classes of the country, but especially on the workers, who pay not only the direct charge on wages, but the indirect charge in the form of a higher cost of living which results from the employer's contribution being passed on. Miss Wilkinson, M.P., speaking in the name of the Guild, said: "After all, we have to remember that income tax is charged on profits, and that the insurance is paid before profits and is therefore part of the cost of production."

To the defense of the government that the cost of a non-contributory scheme was too great, Dr. Hugh Dalton, M.P., replied that this was true only because the budget of 1925 had shown such favors to the higher income groups.³ He alleged that pensions on a considerably more generous scale than those offered by the government could have been financed without difficulty on a non-contributory

¹ Webb, *The Public Organization of the Labour Market*, pp. 327, 345.

² Mrs. Hubback, *Social Insurance in Its National and International Aspects*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³ "Finance of Non-Contributory Pensions," *Labour Magazine*, IV (July, 1925), 118.

scheme "if Mr. Churchill had not reduced the super-tax and the standard rate of income tax." The reduction in the first resulted in a loss of £10,000,000, and in the second, £32,000,000 annually. He argued:

(1) That from 1926-27 onwards the saving in war pensions practically balances the gradually increasing cost of widows', etc., pensions at the doubled rates; (2) that the additional net cost to the Exchequer of doubling the widows', etc., pensions and making the whole scheme non-contributory is practically stationary from 1927-28 to 1936-37, and amounts to little more than half the £42 millions a year needlessly sacrificed by Mr. Churchill this year; (3) that the additional net cost throughout the whole period up to 1965-66 is always less than £42 millions a year; (4) that if this £42 millions had been retained for the Exchequer (and with the passage of years, as wealth accumulates, the cost of these tax remissions will, of course, increase), it would have been possible to finance without difficulty on a non-contributory basis all the new pensions offered by the Government, to double the widows', children's, and orphans' pensions, and still to have a substantial sum in hand of at least £15 millions a year so far as the period up to 1936-37 is concerned. This £15 millions a year could be used to improve still further the benefits offered, e.g., to introduce disability pensions or to make a clean sweep of the remaining means limits and disqualifications of old age pensions.

The plan was also criticized because of the position of the unmarried woman. On this subject Miss Ellen Wilkinson, M.P., said:

The position of the unmarried woman is another source of objection and criticism. There are about 2,000,000 women, mostly manual workers, who will normally not marry at all, and the only thing they will get is a pension at sixty-five. But they will only get that pension at sixty-five if they remain at work until they are sixty-two. I want to ask how many women manual workers are likely to be able to keep their jobs until they are sixty-two. I know from my work that the great problem is to find work for women after they are fifty. . . . This class of single women, the manual workers of that age, does not draw the same sympathy that the struggling widow does. Therefore, I think that the position of the single woman under the act is a very serious one, and one that is to me one of the blots on the scheme.¹

The two great objections, however, to the measure were (1) the inadequacy of the allowances² and the fear of the influence of these rates on the scales that had been adopted by the poor-law guardians

¹ *Social Insurance in Its National and International Aspects*, *op. cit.*, p. 28. See also Mrs. Hubback, of the National Union of Societies for Equal Suffrage, *ibid.*, p. 34. See *Parliamentary Debates*, *Commons* (May 18, 1926), p. 186.

² See Lady Astor's statement in the House of Commons, May 19, 1926, *Parliamentary Debates*, p. 303.

in some jurisdictions, and (2) that the burden of the cost would really fall on the worker.¹

The fact that young widows without children were included among the beneficiaries and women with incapacitated husbands excluded was another occasion for criticism.²

The American student will, of course, think at once of the system in comparison with the situation in the United States. This has been recently set out very briefly and comprehensively by the United States Children's Bureau.³ The first point is of course the national character of the British system, the administration by a national department (the Ministry of Health), in co-operation with other national departments (the Post-Office and the Revenue Service). In the United States, while forty-two states have passed laws, there are still six⁴ in which no provision has been made. Moreover, the allowances, being looked on as a new form of outdoor relief, are in general local rather than state-wide in their administration,⁵ so that there are often great inequalities within the same state as well as among the states.

Another marked contrast is in the view taken of the nature of the allowance. In England the "pension" is one item in an insurance scheme; in the United States it is now clearly seen as a form of relief requiring fine case work methods for its successful administration. That careful, and on the whole lengthy, social investigation will prove necessary has been already discovered by the English authorities, and the necessity of applying other principles of sound treatment will probably arise. The great differences are, however, (1) in the non-contributory character of the provision where it has been adopted in the United States, as against the contributory character in England, and (2) in the acceptance of the principle of adequacy

¹ Mr. Pethick Lawrence especially developed the unfairness of the scheme to the young worker. See *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* (May 18, 1925), p. 158.

² *Parliamentary Debates, Commons* (May 15 and 19, 1925), pp. 184, 293-94.

³ U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 162. *Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children: Extent and Fundamental Principles*.

⁴ Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, New Mexico, and South Carolina.

⁵ See U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 162, p. 10. See especially, too, No. 82, *Administration of Aid-to-Mothers Law in Illinois*, and No. 118, *Standards of Public Aid to Children in Their Own Homes*.

as at any rate a governing principle in the United States. Here the relation of the grants to the needs of the family under care as measured by budget requirements is universally recognized as the basis for determining the grant; attention is focused, therefore, on bringing to the fiscal authorities of the jurisdiction information on the subject of budget requirements and the consequent necessary increase in appropriations for these purposes. The American observer who has watched since 1911 the growing appreciation of the true nature of this service will be interested to note the development in Great Britain.

At the same time, however, the American observer will look eagerly to the time when a true preventive scheme can be developed in the United States, directed toward the prevention of unemployment, the prevention of industrial diseases, and, in the words of one of the great leaders, Mrs. Florence Kelley, at the National Conference at St. Louis, to the "abolition of widows and orphans"—this abolition to be secured by keeping the wage-earning husbands and fathers alive.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HUMAN MIGRATION AS A FIELD OF RESEARCH

A GENERAL account of the work of the Social Science Research Council was published in the last issue of the *Review*. It is possible now to present some detailed extracts from the report recently submitted by one of the subcommittees of the Council, the Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration.¹

Briefly, the Committee sets out its belief that the subject of human migration as a field of research contains magnificent possibilities. It includes large questions of public policy, involving issues of national prosperity and human rights that are now being settled with little or no help from the social science group. It presents problems that reach beyond the frontiers of any one nation, and many of its research problems are of international importance and demand international co-operation for their solution. It involves questions of fundamental importance from the scientific as well as the humanitarian point of view. At one point or another it cuts across the boundaries of all departments within the social science group.

In surveying the problems presented by this field of research, the Committee suggests that they be considered especially within six important divisions as follows: (1) statistical, (2) emigration conditions in Europe and other countries, (3) economic aspects, (4) legal and administrative policies in countries of immigration and emigration, (5) historical aspects, (6) social studies.

In general, an attempt has been made by the Committee, first, to review the field as a whole, and then to select as research projects certain problems that seem to be significant either because they present new problems of research or because the subject seemed of fundamental importance and promised a contribution upon which later research work might proceed.

The Committee has not overlooked the fact that the subject of

¹ The membership of the Committee for the past year has been as follows: Professors John R. Commons, R. F. Foerster, Charles E. Merriam, Wesley C. Mitchell, F. A. Ogg, W. F. Willcox, Clark Wissler, and Edith Abbott, Chairman.

immigration policy which lay within its field was also a subject of political controversy which scientific research might help to elucidate. But they have taken the position that political exigencies ought not to determine a research program. The immigration problem has been with us since the organization of our government and will undoubtedly remain with us for a long time to come. It was felt that research of a more fundamental character, even if painstakingly slow, might in the long run be more valuable. A brief summary of the Committee's outline of the "six fields" follows.

1. *Statistical.*—In this field the Committee considered first the subject of world-statistics of migration, a possible series of critical and comprehensive studies dealing not only with statistics of immigration and emigration, but also with statistics of migration within national boundaries.

The field of the census statistics, the work of the International Labour Office in its migration division, in particular their report on *Methods of Compiling Statistics of Immigration and Emigration*, the possibility of completing the work of the United States Immigration Commission of 1908-11, by revising and bringing down to date the *Statistical Review of Immigration*, were all discussed. Various projects for studying population growth and decline in our own and other countries, with special reference to immigration and emigration, were considered. The racial and nationalistic elements in the colonial stock, the need of a critical review of the estimates of early immigrant arrivals made by Bromwell and others, the distribution of immigrants, re-emigration from America to Europe at different periods, comparative studies of vital statistics and of the relative fecundity within racial and national groups, in particular the vital statistics of the Negro race and the problem of Negro migration, were all considered as possible subjects of research.

Finally, in considering the subject of migration within national boundaries, the Committee reviewed the interesting possibilities of research dealing with the movement toward the urbanization of population in the last century and a half—the statistics of urban and rural growth on our own and other continents, the factors promoting the growth of metropolitan areas, and the vast social and economic consequences of urban development—the effect of the growth of

cities on health, education and art, morals and religion, on political parties and social movements, on our industrial development.

The Committee finally selected as a first project, "World-Statistics of Migration." In view of the great importance of the subject and the probability that it would develop into a large undertaking, the National Bureau of Economic Research was asked to prepare a plan and to undertake general supervision of the inquiry. The Bureau invited Professor Walter F. Willcox, of Cornell University, to take charge of the inquiry; and Professor Willcox spent the summers of 1925 and 1926 in Europe in connection with this work. The publication in August, 1924, of a new report, *Migration Movements, 1920-23*, by the International Labour Office led to a very fruitful co-operation with that organization.

In October, 1925, Professor Willcox attended the Rome meeting of the International Statistical Institute and reported on the plans for his inquiry. The interest of the Institute in the undertaking was cordially expressed, and three of its members were appointed to co-operate with the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Social Science Research Council, and Professor Willcox in this project. The following paragraphs are taken from the statement Professor Willcox made in describing his plan at the Rome meeting:

The plan in its present form falls into two parts: the preparation of a volume giving the available statistics of international migration from the beginning of the record in each country to the present time, and the preparation of a series of interpretative studies of migratory movements affecting a given country or group of countries. In connection with the former the co-operation and assistance of the International Labour Office have been invited.

The plan submitted to the International Labour Office calls for the preparation of a volume of historical statistics by the Migration Section of the Office. The volume will follow the general model of the report entitled "Migration Movements 1920-23" and will carry its tables and others back to the beginning of the record in each country. The figures for the different countries cannot be made comparable to the degree that they are in the latest publication of the Office. It is expected, however, to make them the best obtainable for each country and to elucidate them by notes and explanations. In this way it is hoped to render in the field of migration statistics somewhat the same valuable service to students as was rendered in the field of census statistics by the compilation of Bertillon and in the field of registration statistics by the "Statistique Internationale du Mouvement de la Population," both prepared by members of the Institute and at its suggestion. . . .

1. The study will be objective, impartial, and without design or desire to favor or oppose any type of legislative or administrative action about migration or its increase or decrease. The standing of the National Bureau of Economic Research and of the International Statistical Institute will be an effective guaranty of this treatment.

2. The studies in the second volume will be confined to the interpretation of statistics and not enter the broader field of social or political policy for which the available figures furnish no basis. But other statistics than those of migration, like those of births, deaths, and natural increase or of birthplace, will be utilized to throw light upon the statistics of migration.

3. There are many divergent, if not conflicting, points of view about migration. In an international survey and analysis of migration statistics it is desirable to have these divergencies, so far as they have any statistical foundation, frankly expressed. To further this end it is hoped to secure a number of studies from authorities in different countries and include them in the second volume. Such unfamiliar views and arguments will be especially enlightening to American readers. The editorial committee will make no effort to censor or to harmonize these differing points of view, but will confine itself to holding them within the field of legitimate statistical interpretation.

4. The second volume will include also a survey of the successive efforts to determine the population of the earth, the continents and countries at various dates, some of the best of which have been made in earlier reports to this Institute, and an examination of the evidence they furnish regarding the increase of the earth's population and of the influence of migration upon the increase and redistribution of population.

Negro migration.—In the field of internal migration Professor Frank Ross, of Columbia University, has undertaken for the Council a statistical study of Negro migration in the United States. The plan of Professor Ross involves

a co-ordinated study of internal migration—of population movements within the continental limits of the United States. This form of population redistribution has been going on ever since the founding of the earliest colonies. But in recent decades, particularly during and since the World War, it has taken on new aspects. With what will probably be a long-time policy of restricted immigration further large internal readjustments of the present population are bound to take place. . . .

In illustration of the proposed method of treatment the Committee submit an outline which Professor Ross has projected for one portion of the general field: Negro migration in the South, including a description of the movement of Negro population since slavery days, a quantitative description of migration in the decades 1900—

1910 and 1910-20 and estimates for the period 1920-25—interregional; interstate; intra-state; urban and rural; resurgences—these will trace sources of migrants and their destination.

A careful canvass is being made of the literature on Negro migration (and other migrations as well) to discover what "causes" are or have been advanced as explanations.

2. *Emigration conditions in Europe and other continents.*—In this division the Committee considered a series of investigations dealing with the economic, social, and political conditions that tend to promote migration. Such inquiries are commended as especially suitable for "grants in aid" from the Council, since they entail a considerable amount of traveling and temporary release from teaching.

It was decided to postpone any extensive investigation in this field until the basic study of world-statistics of migration had been completed; but it was planned to make a small beginning by having a study made in one of the countries of the "old immigration," where there has been a greatly increased interest in emigration since the war, for example, in Scotland, Sweden, or Germany, and to have another type study made in one of the countries of the "new immigration," such as Czechoslovakia or Italy, where a definite emigration policy has been developed.

Plans were finally made to carry on a Swedish study, which Professor Florence Janson, of the Department of Economics of Rockford College, had been working on for several years. The Committee submits material showing that

Swedish emigration is an interesting subject. Sweden lost over a million people through emigration between 1860 and 1900. This was equal to one out of every six of her population. Over 900,000 of these emigrated to the United States. While other countries of northern and western Europe sent few emigrants to the United States after 1890, the emigration from Sweden and Norway continued. The large number of Swedish-Americans living in the United States and Canada continue to draw the Swedish people in large numbers to these countries. As a result of the passage of the quota law, the great bulk of the present emigration is going to Canada.

With regard to other European countries, the Committee recommends that when Professor Willcox has completed his second volume, which will contain contributions from European scholars representing various countries, plans may be developed for a comprehen-

sive series of studies dealing with the history of emigration and modern emigration problems in Europe. The economic effects on European countries of our restrictionist legislation is a subject of great interest, not only in this country and other countries receiving immigrants, but also in the countries of emigration.

3. *Economic aspects.*—The economic aspects of emigration, immigration, or migration within national boundaries may be said to constitute an extremely important field of research, since the great transoceanic migrations of the last two centuries have been primarily for economic reasons. Our internal migrations have also been dictated to a large extent by economic considerations. Our early immigration policies were largely influenced by considerations of economic expediency. The economic consequences of the change in the labor supply brought about by the suspension of immigration during the war and its further curtailment through the quota and visa acts should be studied by scientific investigators.

The Negro and Mexican migrations of the past decade, which have probably been, in some measure at least, a result of the exclusion of the unskilled labor of Europe, constitute a migration movement of great importance that should be studied while the movement is still in progress. It is pointed out that the economic questions relating to the effects of the northward migration of the American Negroes and the consequences of this movement to agriculture in the South and industry in the North should receive consideration from the scientific associations.

The first project adopted in this field is an interesting piece of research on "Immigration in Relation to the Mechanization of Industry,"¹ the work of Dr. Harry Jerome, of the University of Wisconsin, working under the National Bureau of Economic Research. Dr. Jerome's project deals with a fundamental problem in the field and promises the development of some interesting methods of research.

Dr. Jerome's plan includes a study of the influence of migration upon the demand and supply of labor, with particular emphasis upon the probable extent to which such labor shortage as may arise from

¹ This is a continuation of Dr. Jerome's work on *Immigration and Business Cycles*, published by the National Bureau of Economic Research. This study was carried on under a corresponding committee of the National Research Council.

immigration restriction will be met by an increased use of labor-saving machinery. Only a brief statement of Dr. Jerome's problem and methods of analysis can be given here:

The analysis of the relation of migration to possible industrial readjustments consists essentially in a determination of the changes in the supply of labor to be attributed to migration, and then an examination of the ways in which such changes bring pressure for changes in industrial processes and equipment.

The effect of migration upon labor-saving machinery has been selected for special attention because it has been generally assumed that a restriction of immigration would stimulate the use of such machinery and also because this tendency would be a development of such importance to American industrial life that its examination seems well worthy of careful analysis. If we can throw additional light on the dynamics of mechanization we shall have made a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the effects of immigration upon industrial operations and to economic science in general.

The major steps in such an analysis are: (1) an estimate of changes in the quantity and types of labor due to migration, and (2) an appraisal of the tendency of such changes to encourage or discourage an increased use of labor-saving machinery.

With regard to Mexican immigration, it is suggested that this is our most important immigration problem today; and in certain sections of the country, notably in California, it is a very exigent problem. The Committee's project in this field is a preliminary "Study of the Mexican Labor Problem in California," by Dr. Paul Taylor, of the Department of Economics of the University of California. The study deals particularly with the following points: (1) The factors responsible for Mexican immigration. (2) The geographical and industrial distribution, and extent of Mexican immigration. (3) The Mexican in the California labor market: especially demand and supply, routes followed by migratories, the Mexican as a competitor with other groups, comparative wages and labor cost, relations with employers and with other workers. (4) Standards of living among Mexican laborers: housing, food, clothing; earnings, dependence upon community support.

Numerous other possibilities of research projects in this field are described, including:

a) A series of investigations dealing with immigration as a factor in the economic development of the United States. These studies

would be undertaken industry by industry, with a view to learning what contribution immigration has made to the growth of the industry and how the course of development was affected by immigration. They should be undertaken with reference to: (1) the textile industry; (2) iron and steel industry; (3) mining; (4) clothing industry; (5) meat packing; (6) construction work; (7) the use of migratory labor in the building of canals, railroads, etc.

b) The immigrant in agriculture, including a series of studies with regard to the influence of immigration on our agricultural development. Such studies would probably proceed state by state; e.g., the Germans in Wisconsin, the Dutch in Iowa, the Scandinavians in Minnesota. There is also need for some studies of recent immigrants in agriculture, developing further some of the inquiries of Professor Alexander Cance for the United States Immigration Commission of 1908-11.

c) Other types of special studies in the economic field which are suggested are the following: (1) Immigration in relation to trade unionism. There are a number of well-known investigators in the labor field interested in this problem. The co-operation of one of them could undoubtedly be secured. (2) The immigrant and standards of living. This subject has been dealt with as one of the incidental inquiries in a number of cost-of-living inquiries, but no adequate investigation of the subject has been undertaken. (3) Race relations in industry. Suggestions for an inquiry in this field came from a well-known investigator in New York, who wrote: "The problems arising from personal and social relations in economic life between persons of different race or nationality groups are as important as those arising from physical conditions of labor, wages, and hours, and so on. 'Industrial unrest' may depend as much on personal relations as on the physical factors; maladjustment in industry, causing a reduction of efficiency, may be of a psychological nature."

4. *Legal and administrative policies.*—The research problems in this field are grouped under three general heads: (a) those dealing with the immigration laws of the United States and their administration; (b) those dealing with the immigration laws and, more particularly, the immigration policies of other countries; (c) those dealing with expatriation, naturalization, and repatriation. The prob-

lems connected with the admission, exclusion, and expulsion of immigrants ought to be of interest to research students in the field of administrative law and politics. Such subjects as the early attempts to prohibit emigration in Great Britain, Germany, and other European countries, the general subject of freedom of migration in international law and the attitude of modern nations toward control of emigration are of interest. On the political side, the subject of naturalization is an important field of study, and there is also the more difficult subject of the influence of various foreign groups on our elections and our national, state, and local policies. The immigrant as a factor in our political affairs is a new field of inquiry which should obviously be undertaken with great caution as to method and personnel.

The immigration policy and practice of other countries receiving large numbers of immigrants, particularly Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, are subjects of practical and scientific interest. A study in this field was made in 1908 for the United States Immigration Commission (*Reports*, Vol. XL), but much of this material ought to be covered more adequately and also brought down to date. Private studies of this kind can rarely be undertaken because the necessary traveling expenses are beyond the means of most research workers; it would seem suitable, therefore, to assist in establishing one or more projects in this field.

A body of valuable material on this subject has been collected by the International Labour Office, and some of it was published in the volume *Emigration and Immigration*, published in 1923. But the official regulations are merely summarized, and they should also be explained and interpreted in relation to the economic and political conditions in each country. Quite recently the director of the Migration Section of the International Labour Office has requested the co-operation of the Committee in the revision and reissue of this volume. He proposes now a plan for expanding this material into two volumes and making it a standard reference work.

The Committee considered, as a possible first undertaking in this field, the advisability of undertaking a study of the present immigration laws of the United States, but finally rejected this plan because several such inquiries were found to be in progress, notably a study of immigration legislation as a problem in administrative law under

the direction of the Harvard Law School. The study of the legislative policies of other immigrant-receiving countries seemed to be more practicable at the present time. At the request of the Committee, Professor Ogg submitted a plan for such a study in Canada, and Professor Foerster submitted a plan for a study in Argentina. Unfortunately it was not possible to arrange for the carrying through of either of these projects.

Another series of subjects suggested by Professor Ogg had to do with the more definitely political aspects of immigration, such as:

1. Political (party) affiliations and attitudes of foreign-born elements. For example, party membership, non-voting, political preconceptions, attitude toward American form of government, and toward particular institutions or forms, e.g., the direct primary.

2. Political organizations among the foreign born (national societies, etc.), including political character of the foreign-language press.

3. Propaganda by the foreign born, "national" groups, with a view to obtaining: (a) a fair and intelligent understanding of, and attitude toward them and their home country; (b) special, and perhaps unmerited, sympathy, donations, and support.

4. Factors and influences in (a) the formation of public opinion in the United States on immigration, and (b) determining the course of immigration legislation.

5. Immigration and imperialism. (The relation between population conditions and movements and aspirations to colonies, empire, economic, and cultural domination. Also efforts to preserve the "national" character of emigrants.)

5. *Historical aspects.*—In this division the Committee made no attempt to review the field or to outline any definite projects. The report calls attention to the excellent work being done by the various state historical societies, which cover a very important part of the field. Several distinguished historians are also dealing with this subject as a part of larger research undertakings. On the whole, the Committee did not find the same need or opportunity for the Council to assist typical projects in this division as in certain others. However the Committee stresses the importance of historical research in this division.

6. *Social studies.*—Social studies in human migration cover a wide range; and to carry them on adequately it is necessary to invade, not only the fields of sociology and social work, but those of psychology and anthropology as well. The Committee did not find itself ready for any large and ambitious undertaking in this division.

Attention is called to the very considerable number of investigations that have already been made, not only by individuals, but by legislative committees and other public and private organizations. The so-called "Americanization Series" of the Carnegie Corporation and the special reports of various state immigration commissions are typical of this work, much of which has been extremely useful to the community and some of which has been valuable from the point of view of social research.

The only project adopted by the Committee in this division was a study suggested by a distinguished Mexican scholar, Dr. Manuel Gamio, proposing "A Preliminary Survey of the Antecedents and Conditions of the Mexican Population in the United States and the Formation of a Program for a Definitive and Scientific Study of the Problem." Dr. Gamio is now at work and is studying the problem of the Mexican migrant in Mexico and in the United States.

Only a brief extract from Dr. Gamio's plan can be given:

In Mexico the investigation covers the following questions: From what geographic localities in Mexico have the Mexicans come who have emigrated and are emigrating into the United States? What are the economical and biological backgrounds of these regions, in relation to the development of human life? What is the state of civilization of the inhabitants of these regions; is it analogous to, superior, or inferior to the state of their civilization during the Colonial period, or the period prior to the Conquest? What is the proportion of those emigrating to the United States, classifying them racially as white, native, or mixed? What economic, social, political, or other factors have directly contributed to the emigration? Can this emigration be prevented by a change for the better in these factors?

For the work in the United States, a technical study is being made of all data obtainable from both private and official sources, American as well as Mexican, concerning the Mexican population which has emigrated to the United States.

Various other research projects in this general field were reviewed by the Committee, such as:

1. Studies of different immigrant groups. There has always been a demand for studies of different immigrant groups in the United States and a widespread interest in the answers to such questions as the following: What has been the effect of American life upon the immigrant? What effect has the immigrant had upon American life? How has our American culture been influenced by the German, Irish, Jewish, Italian, or Russian immigrants? In the past these questions have been answered largely by two types of studies: (1) popular surveys such as the volumes in the "New American" series; (2) books by racial representatives, such as Capek's *Czechs in America* or Maguire's *The Irish in America*.

There have been a few scientific studies, e.g., Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow-Citizens*, and Körner, *Das Deutsche Element*; but none of these studies is recent. A study that makes an important contribution to methods of studying immigrant groups is Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*. The Committee suggests that the practical suspension of immigration for a decade makes this a peculiarly opportune time for a series of scientific studies in this field.

2. Studies of typical immigrant institutions. In this series would be included such problems as the following: the nationalistic church; other nationalistic religious institutions—schools, orphanages, charities; nationalistic political societies; the nationalistic co-operatives, and other thrift institutions.

3. Leaders among immigrant groups. This project is suggested as one that might be carried on in a number of different centers as a series of non-statistical studies that could be undertaken with a relatively small budget. The purpose of the study or series of studies would be to ascertain the type of person who becomes a leader of his group, in politics, in religion, in the labor field. It would not be the purpose to outline the careers of immigrants who have become distinguished men. Immigrants who become so successful as to be leaders outside of their own groups would not be included among those studied. The study of leaders is proposed rather as a means of understanding the influences within the various immigrant groups. A research project dealing with religious, political, and nationalistic leaders—with the men who have great power in immigrant neighborhoods—would show the backgrounds, racial, religious, social, educational, and political, from which these men come, the methods by which they have obtained leadership, their relation to their various communities, the social and political results of their leadership.

Finally, approaching the frontiers of psychology and anthropology but without wishing to create or enter into any jurisdictional quarrels, the Committee suggest the importance of such subjects as the following: "The Immigrant as a Factor in Crime, Pauperism, Insanity, and Feeble-Mindedness," "Immigration Heritages and Immigrant Attitudes," "Causes and Conditions of Race Prejudice," "Areas and Comparative Rates of Assimilation," "Effect of Environment on Racial Types."

The Committee gave special consideration to the last-named subject, which raises the question: "Is the racial type really stable or does it change with the environment?" and express the hope that Professor Franz Boas, of Columbia University, long at work in this field, may be enabled to carry on his research on an adequate scale.

In concluding its review of a field of research that is so rich and varied, the Committee recommends that the Council continue the work over another period of three to five years.

ADMINISTRATION OF PRIVATE SOCIAL SERVICE
AGENCIES: A TOPICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

PART II¹

PUBLICITY

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NOTE.—Since the preparation of this bibliography, the noteworthy book by William J. Norton, *Co-operative Movement in Social Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1927; pp. 377; \$3.00) has appeared, which should be consulted for many of the subjects listed.

W. W. BURKE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SOURCE MATERIALS

SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE 1801-1876

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

DR. HOWE¹ has been described as "one of the most romantic characters" of the nineteenth century. Certainly few lives have been at once so adventurous, and at the same time so full of beneficent activity.

A graduate of Harvard Medical School at the age of twenty-three, he offered his services to the patriot army of Greece in its war for independence. He spent most of his time in Greece from 1824 to 1830, and became surgeon general of the Greek fleet and took charge of the organization of relief work.

He was thirty years old when he returned to the United States, and looked about for something worth doing. He did not like the idea of medical practice, for he objected to charging money for medical services. Suddenly he became interested in a project for teaching the blind. In a few days he had arranged to take charge of the enterprise, and left at once for Europe to study the new methods that had been developed there, and to secure teachers and equipment.

In the summer of 1832 he began this work for the Massachusetts School and Asylum for the Blind by taking six blind children into his father's spacious Boston house and teaching them there.

¹ For accounts of Dr. Howe's life and work the following books may be consulted: *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, edited by his daughter Laura E. Richards . . . with notes and a Preface by Franklin B. Sanborn (2 vols.; Boston, 1906-9); Julia Ward Howe, *Memoir of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe*, published by the Howe Memorial Committee (Boston, 1876); Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences, 1819-1899* (Boston, 1899); Franklin B. Sanborn, *Dr. S. G. Howe, the Philanthropist* (New York, 1891); *Proceedings at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, November 11, 1901* (Boston, 1902); Maud Howe Elliott and Mrs. Florence Hall, *Laura Bridgman, Dr. Howe's Famous Pupil and What He Taught Her* (Boston, 1903); Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1900), chap iii, "Boston."

The available published writings of Dr. Howe himself include the following: *Annual*

Few people had ever thought of teaching children except through the sense of sight, and his experiment aroused the greatest interest. Elizabeth Peabody, who visited the school in 1833, wrote of it with great enthusiasm as a place

where, in the simplest surroundings, we found Dr. Howe with the half-dozen first pupils he had picked up in the highways and byways. He had then been about six months at work and had invented and laboriously executed some books with raised letters to teach them to read, some geographical maps, and the geometrical diagrams necessary for instructions in mathematics. He had gummed twine, I think, upon cardboard, an enormous labor, to form the letters of the alphabet. I shall not, in all time, forget the impression made upon me by seeing the hero of the Greek Revolution, who had narrowly missed being that of the Polish Revolution also; to see this hero, I say, wholly absorbed, and applying all the energies of his genius to this apparently humble work, and doing it as Christ did, without money and without price.

The interest in the young doctor's work was widespread, for at that time the education of blind children was not thought possible. Dr. Howe found it necessary to take the blind children he had been teaching before the legislature to demonstrate that such children really could be taught. The result of his six months' work made such an impression that both houses voted, almost by acclamation, a grant of funds on condition that the institution should educate and support twenty poor blind children for the state. Other funds were promptly given, and a suitable home for the new institution was

Reports of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities (1865-74); Annual Report of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind (1833-75); Causes and Prevention of Idiocy (23 pp.; Boston, 1874; reprinted from the Massachusetts Quarterly Review, No. III [1848]); Cretan Refugees and Their American Helpers: A Statement Addressed to the Contributors for the Relief of Cretan Refugees (64 pp.; Boston, 1868); An Essay on Separate and Congregate Systems of Prison Discipline; Being a Report Made to the Boston Prison Discipline Society (90 pp.; Boston, 1846); An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution (2d ed.; 447 pp.; New York, 1828); A Letter on the Sanitary Condition of the Troops in the Neighborhood of Boston Addressed to His Excellency, the Governor of Massachusetts (16 pp.; Washington, D.C., 1861); A Letter to J. H. Wilkins, H. B. Rogers, and F. B. Fay, Commissioners of Massachusetts for the State Reform School for Girls (36 pp.; Boston, 1854); A Letter to Mrs.——— and Other Loyal Women Touching the Matter of Contributions for the Army and Other Matters Connected with the War (27, 26 pp.; Boston, 1862); A Letter to the Governor of Massachusetts upon His Veto Bill Providing for an Increase of State Beneficiaries at the School for Idiotic Children (24 pp.; Boston, 1857); Letters on the Proposed Annexation of Santo Domingo (32 pp.; Boston, 1871); Refugees from Slavery in Canada West; Report to the Freedman's Inquiry Commission (110 pp.; Boston, 1864); Report Made to the Legislature of Massachusetts upon Idiocy (54 pp.; Boston, 1848).

soon established. This was one of the three pioneer schools for blind children in America. A school was being started at approximately the same time in New York, and Philadelphia established one in the following year. The portrait that is used as a frontispiece for this *Review* was painted during the early years at the Blind Asylum.

Many years later, in speaking at a convention held on the subject of the instruction of the blind, he described his early experiment as follows:

It seems but yesterday (though it is really more than twenty years) that I undertook to organize and put in operation an institution which had been incorporated four years before in Massachusetts, and I then looked around the country in vain for some one practically acquainted with the subject. There was not then upon this continent a school for the blind, a teacher of the blind, or even a blind person who had been taught by one. I had but an imperfect knowledge of the European schools, and supposed, therefore, that I should gain time, and start with greater chance of success in what was regarded by many as a visionary enterprise, by going to Europe for teachers and for actual knowledge of all that had been done there. I went, therefore, saw what little there was to be seen of schools for the blind, and soon returned, bringing a teacher of the intellectual branches from France, and of the mechanical branches from Scotland.

He also brought with him three books printed with raised characters, for the use of his prospective pupils. These were at that time the only three books printed for the blind, in the English language. He determined to print more books and to find a means of lessening the bulk and the cost. His appeal for funds was generously met, and he not only maintained a large printing-office, which was actively at work increasing the number of books for his blind students, but he himself compiled for their use an encyclopedia, an atlas, and some other works of reference.

Finally, he saw the need of a national printing-press for the blind; and in 1836-37 tried, unsuccessfully, for help from Congress. In 1845 he made a new appeal to Congress, enlisting the help of the principals of the New York and the Philadelphia schools. These three pioneers went to Washington, taking with them their most gifted pupils, and gave exhibitions before Congress, which made a deep and lasting impression. More than three decades passed, however, before Congress finally made an appropriation for publishing books for the blind.

Dr. Howe began his greatest experiment in education in the year 1837, when he undertook the teaching of Laura Bridgman, a little girl of seven who, in an attack of scarlet fever in infancy, had become blind, deaf, and dumb. His own account of Laura's educational development is given in pages which follow (pp. 300-306). More familiar today is the case of Helen Keller, but her education was made possible by Dr. Howe's earlier experiments. In 1901, at the time of the Howe centenary meeting in Boston, Helen Keller, then a student at Radcliffe College, sent the following message:

I hope you will express the heartfelt gratitude of those who owe their education, their opportunities, their happiness to him who opened the eyes of the blind and gave the dumb lip language.

Sitting here in my study, surrounded by my books, enjoying the sweet and intimate companionship of the great and the wise, I am trying to realize what my life might have been if Dr. Howe had failed in the great task God gave him to perform. If he had not taken upon himself the responsibility of Laura Bridgman's education, and led her out of the pit of Acheron back to her human inheritance.

I think only those who have escaped that death-like existence from which Laura Bridgman was rescued can realize how isolated, how shrouded in darkness, how cramped by its own importance is a soul without thought or faith or hope. Words are powerless to describe the desolation of that prison house, or the joy of the soul that is delivered out of its captivity. When we compare the needs and helplessness of the blind before Dr. Howe began his work with their present usefulness and independence, we realize that great things have been done in our midst. . . .¹

From the beginning, Dr. Howe was interested in education, in the largest sense of that word. He looked to restoring the blind child to a normal place in its family and the community. For example, in 1853, he wrote to a friend:

It is very desirable for the blind child that his claim upon his parents, friends, neighbors, or bondsmen should be kept alive. This is done in part by insisting that they provide him with clothing, and take him home at vacations. It is found, especially with the ignorant of our own and foreign population, that if a blind child is taken off their hands, fed and clad, and kept in an Institution, after a few years they come to look upon him as a stranger having no claim upon them; whereas if they had been obliged to provide him with shoes, and to receive him at home during vacations, the relationship would have grown and

¹ *Proceedings at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, November 11, 1901.*

strengthened. It is for the interest of the children, therefore, that we act, when we insist that the parents, or lacking parents, the relations, or lacking these, the neighborhood in which they are born shall be held responsible for them.

He was tireless also in helping the movement in other states. He appeared, sometimes alone, sometimes with some of his pupils, before the legislatures of seventeen different states, urging them to provide for the education of the blind.

Many years later, when the centenary of his birth was being celebrated in Boston, numerous messages came from these distant institutions which he had helped to found. One of these messages from Kentucky is typical of many others:

In behalf of the blind of Kentucky, the Board of Visitors of the Kentucky Institution for the Education of the Blind beg to assure you that the labours of Dr. Samuel G. Howe, in assisting in founding the Kentucky Institution for the Blind, are held in grateful remembrance to this day.

In the winter of 1841 he made the long and tiresome journey to Kentucky, and addressed the Legislature of our State upon the expediency of founding a school for the blind, with such success that in February, 1842, the Kentucky Institution for the Blind was established.

Even should the memory of his name, in the course of ages, pass from the minds of men, the beneficent influence of his deeds will abide to the last syllable of recorded time.

It was inevitable that Dr. Howe should also become interested in the education of mentally deficient children. In 1839 a blind child who was also "idiotic" was brought to the Asylum, and it was found possible to improve his condition very definitely. Later other blind and "idiotic" children were received and helped. Dr. Howe promptly became convinced "that if so much could be done for idiots who were blind, still more could be done for those who were not blind." He knew that schools for those who were then called "idiots" had been started in France and Germany, and he began planning an attempt to secure help from the legislature for such a project in Massachusetts. This appeal he made in the winter of 1845-46. In a letter to an influential member of the Massachusetts House he wrote:

There are about 600 idiotic children in Massachusetts, most of whom are born of poor and ignorant persons who can do nothing for them, and they soon become the children and the charge of the public. . . . We thrust them out of sight into the almshouses; we feed them, indeed, and care for them, as we do for

our cattle, but like cattle we let them go down to the grave without trying to kindle within them the light of reason which may guide them on their way to eternity.

The result of Dr. Howe's appeal was the appointment of a special commission, of which he was chairman, to report to the next legislature. In 1848, he submitted his report—the first official report on the condition of the feeble-minded in any American state. His daughter tells of the ridicule that followed his report. One man said the doctor's report was, in his opinion, a report for idiots as well as concerning them, and others laughed and said, "What do you think Howe is going to do next? He is going to teach idiots. Ha! Ha!"²

As a result of this report the legislature appropriated the small sum of \$2,500 a year for three years to allow Dr. Howe to experiment with the teaching of ten "idiotic" children, and the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth was incorporated in 1850. This was the beginning of the famous institution now known as the Walter E. Fernald School. Dr. Fernald himself said that he considered Dr. Howe's work with the imbecile as "truly the chief jewel in his crown. The other things he did other men might have done, but he alone among the philanthropists of that time was able to see the need of this work and to realize the possibilities."

Dr. Howe's own account of this school, written in 1852, is of special interest:

When the first steps were taken in this matter by the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1846, it was the common belief—indeed, one might say that with very rare exceptions it was the universal belief—in this country, that idiots were beyond the reach of the most zealous educator's skill, and almost beyond the reach of human sympathy. . . .

Our law considered them as paupers, but classed them with rogues and vagabonds; for it provided that they should be kept within the precincts of the House of Correction.

The most melancholy feature of the whole was that they were condemned as worthless and incapable of improvement; and the law required their removal from the only place where they were comfortable, the State Lunatic Asylum, whenever it was necessary to make room for the less unfortunate insane, and it sent them not to another asylum, but to the houses of correction. There was not, throughout this whole continent, any systematic attempt to lift them out of

² Quoted in *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe* (edited by his daughter, Laura E. Richards), II, 213.

their brutishness. Even in Massachusetts, where the maniac is made to go clad and kept in mental quiet,—where the blind are taught to read, the mute to speak, yea, and even the blind mute to do both,—even here the poor idiot was left to that deterioration which certainly follows neglect. He had but little talent given him, and by neglect or abuse that little was lost. . . .

Now, . . . it has been shown here and elsewhere that even idiots are not beyond the educator's skill; and consequently, from every part of the country come eager inquiries from anxious parents, in whose breasts the hope has dawned that something may yet be done for children whom they had considered as beyond hope. . . .

It is true that these children and youth speak and read but little, and that little very imperfectly compared with others of their age; but if one brings the case home, and supposes these to be his own children, it will not seem a small matter that a daughter who it was thought would never know a letter, can now read a simple story, and a son who could not say "father" can now distinctly repeat a prayer to his Father in heaven.¹

With Horace Mann, who was an intimate personal friend, he became interested in attempting to teach deaf-mute children to speak, and thus to make them normal members of society. The Asylum for the Deaf at Hartford was using the old method of sign language; and as the deaf children of Massachusetts were being sent to this Asylum and paid for out of Massachusetts taxes, Mann found himself in opposition to the Hartford school and finally, with the support of Howe, engaged in a long controversy. Together these two men visited institutions in Switzerland, Holland, and Germany, where the deaf were being taught by the vocal method and where they saw deaf children progressing through every stage of attempted articulation "from the simultaneous utterance of unintelligible sounds to the very politeness and perfection of speech."

The introduction of this wonderful system of teaching deaf-mute children was resisted not only in Dr. Howe's day, but long afterward; and there are still, in the twentieth century, tax-supported schools for deaf children in the United States in which sign language is being taught.

But Dr. Howe was never acquiescent in a bad system where the welfare of children was at stake. If he could not persuade the Hart-

¹ Extract from the *Third and Final Report on the Experimental School for Teaching and Training Idiotic Children*, also the *First Report of the Trustees of the Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Youth* (1852), quoted in *Letters and Journals*, II, 217-20.

ford Asylum to try the newer and better method, he would himself show that deaf-mute children could be taught to speak. He therefore took two deaf-mute children as an experiment, and not long afterward helped to establish a small school near Boston in which the articulate method of education was used for deaf mutes. He also taught mothers of such children how to educate them in large part at home.

It is not easy to give briefly an adequate account of Dr. Howe's varied interests. No social movement of his time was without his help. He was an active supporter of the movement to abolish imprisonment for debt, and of the Boston Prison Discipline Society, and the Prisoners' Aid Society. As physician he was a warm supporter of "temperance," and in his writings frequently set out the evil consequences of the use of liquor to the individual and to the race.

During the years between 1840 and 1846 he served as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and as a member of the Boston School Committee. In the legislature he presented the first and most famous memorial of Dorothea Dix¹ and secured the appropriation for which she asked. As a member of the School Committee he instituted a very thorough overhauling of the Boston public schools. Horace Mann said of this episode, "It could only have been done by an angel—or by Sam Howe."

In 1846, as the conflict over slavery and its impending doom began to absorb the thoughts and fears of men, Dr. Howe became an ardent supporter of the abolition cause—a friend of Sumner, of Garrison, and of John Brown; a member of the Emigrant Aid Company that sent men and rifles to bleeding Kansas. He was chairman of the Faneuil Hall Committee that sent out clothes and money for the Kansas sufferers. Later he volunteered to go and carry the aid himself, and go he did in spite of his advancing years, his poor health, and the pressure of his other work. No one, he said, could die in a better cause.

During the war he was in Washington much of the time. He was one of the original members of the Sanitary Commission which pre-

¹ See Vol. I, No. 1, of this *Review* for an account of the work of Miss Dix and a reprint of one of her "Memorials."

ceded the Red Cross, and he served as chairman of the United States Freedman's Inquiry Committee, for which he wrote a report on the condition of the runaway slaves in Canada.

The latter part of Dr. Howe's life is better known. During the war Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, had become interested in the state institutions and wrote asking for his views "in reference to general and systematic improvements in our methods of public charities." Dr. Howe replied in December, 1862, suggesting a "board or central commission . . . to establish as far as may be a uniform and wise system of treatment of pauperism over the Commonwealth."

In 1863 such a board was actually organized, the first State Board of Charities in this country. In 1864 Dr. Howe became a member of the Board, although he was still occupied at that time with the momentous work of the war. In 1865 he became chairman of the Board, and in his *Annual Report* for that year he laid down his famous principles of public charity, which are reprinted in the pages which follow. Some of his large ideas of public charity had long been in his mind. As early as 1857 he had written regarding public institutions as follows:

The more I reflect upon the subject the more I see objections in principle and practice to asylums. What right have we to pack off the poor, the old, the blind into asylums? They are of us, our brothers, our sisters—they belong in families; they are deprived of the dearest relations of life in being put away in masses in asylums. Asylums generally are the offspring of a low order of feeling; their chief recommendation often is that they do cheaply what we ought to think only of doing well.

In the years from 1865 to 1874, he prepared a series of annual reports which set out in his vigorous and dramatic way the methods of making the state charitable administration efficient and humane. If we ever have a science of public welfare administration, Samuel Gridley Howe will surely be looked upon as one of its founders.

After his death, in 1876, the General Court of Massachusetts passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the commonwealth of Massachusetts, ever mindful of the welfare of the poor and the claims of the unfortunate among its people, recalls with gratitude the constant and efficacious service devoted by the late Dr. Samuel G. Howe to the education of the blind, the deaf, and the feeble-minded children of this Commonwealth, to the improvement of the discipline of prisons

and reform schools, to the better care of the insane, the prevention of pauperism, and, in general, to the public charities of Massachusetts, with which he has been for a whole generation officially connected.

Resolved, That especial mention ought to be made of that grand achievement of science and patient beneficence, the education by Dr. Howe of deaf, dumb, and blind children in such a manner as to restore them to that communication with their friends and with the world which others enjoy, but from which they seemed wholly debarred until his genius and benevolence found for them the key of language, accustomed it to their hands, and thus gave them freedom instead of bondage and light for darkness. . . .

A more vivid picture of his work was given by his friend Dr. Edward Everett Hale:

You ask for his epitaph. It is a very simple epitaph. He found idiots chattering, taunted, and ridiculed by each village fool, and he left them cheerful, and happy. He found the insane shut up in their wretched cells, miserable, starving, cold, and dying, and he left them happy, hopeful, and brave. He found the blind sitting in darkness, and he left them glad in the sunshine of the love of God.

The Historic Case of Laura Bridgman¹

Laura Dewey Bridgman was born in Hanover, New Hampshire, on the twenty-first of December, 1829. She is described as having been a very sprightly and pretty infant, with bright blue eyes. She was, however, so puny and feeble until she was a year and a half old, that her parents hardly hoped to rear her. . . .

It was not until four years of age that the poor child's bodily health seemed restored, and she was able to enter upon her apprenticeship of life and the world. Sight and hearing were gone forever. Her sense of smell was almost entirely destroyed, and consequently, her taste was much blunted. . . .

As soon as she could walk she began to explore the room, and then the house. She followed her mother and felt of her hands and arms; and her disposition to imitate led her to repeat everything herself. She even learned to sew a little and to knit. But though she received all the aid that a kind mother could bestow, she soon began to give proof of the importance of language to the development of human character. Caressing and

¹ This account of the development of Laura Bridgman's education is taken from Dr. Howe's reports in the *Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind* (1841), pp. 23-31, and the *Eighteenth Annual Report* (1850), pp. 47-48. Other extracts are reprinted in F. B. Sanborn, *Dr. S. G. Howe, the Philanthropist* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1891), pp. 148-58.

chiding will do for infants and dogs, but not for children, and by the time Laura was seven years old, the moral effects of her privation began to appear. There was nothing to control her will but the absolute power of another, and humanity revolts at this; she had already begun to disregard all but the sterner nature of her father; and it was evident that, as the propensities should increase with her physical growth, so would the difficulty of restraining them increase. At this time I was so fortunate as to hear of the child, and immediately hastened to Hanover to see her. I found her with a well-formed figure; a strongly marked, nervous-sanguine temperament; a large and beautifully shaped head, and the whole system in healthy action. Here seemed a rare opportunity of benefiting an individual, and of trying a plan for the education of a deaf and blind person. The parents were easily induced to consent to her coming to Boston; and on the fourth of October, 1837, they brought her to the institution.

LAURA'S FIRST LESSONS

The first experiments were made by taking articles in common use, such as knives, forks, spoons, keys, etc., and pasting upon them labels with their names printed in raised letters. These she felt of very carefully, and soon, of course, distinguished that the crooked lines *spoon* differed as much from the crooked lines *key*, as the spoon differed from the key in form. Then small, detached labels, with the same words printed upon them, were put into her hands; and she soon observed that they were similar to the ones pasted on the articles. She showed her perception of this similarity by laying the label *key* upon the key, and the label *spoon* upon the spoon. She was here encouraged by the natural sign of approbation, patting on the head.

The same process was then repeated with all the articles which she could handle; and she very easily learned to place the proper labels upon them. It was evident, however, that the only intellectual exercise was that of imitation and memory. She recollected that the label *book* was placed upon a book, and she repeated the process, first from imitation, next from memory, with no other motive than the love of approbation, and apparently without the intellectual perception of any relation between the things. After a while, instead of labels, the individual letters were given to her on detached pieces of paper; they were arranged side by side, so as to spell *book*, *key*, etc.; then they were mixed up in a heap, and a sign was made for her to arrange them herself, so as to express the words *book*, *key*, etc., and she did so.

Hitherto, the process had been mechanical, and the success about as

great as teaching a very knowing dog a variety of tricks. The poor child had sat in mute amazement, and patiently imitated everything her teacher did; but now the truth began to flash upon her, her intellect began to work, she perceived that here was a way by which she could herself make up a sign of anything that was in her own mind, and show it to another mind, and at once her countenance lighted up with a human expression; it was no longer a dog or parrot—it was an immortal spirit, eagerly seizing upon a new link of union with other spirits! I could almost fix upon the moment when this truth dawned upon her mind, and spread its light to her countenance; I saw that the great obstacle was overcome, and that henceforward nothing but patient and persevering, plain and straightforward efforts were to be used.

The result, thus far, is quickly related, and easily conceived; but not so was the process; for many weeks of apparently unprofitable labor were passed before it was effected.

The next step was to procure a set of metal types, with the different letters of the alphabet cast upon their ends; also a board, in which were square holes, into which holes she could set the types, so that the letters on their ends could alone be felt above the surface. Then, on any article being handed her—for instance, a pencil or a watch—she would select the component letters, and arrange them on her board, and read them with apparent pleasure. She was exercised for several weeks in this way, until her vocabulary became extensive; and then the important step was taken of teaching her how to represent the different letters by the position of her fingers, instead of the cumbrous apparatus of the board and types. She accomplished this speedily and easily, for her intellect had begun to work in aid of her teacher, and her progress was rapid. . . .

The whole of the succeeding year was passed in gratifying her eager inquiries for the names of every object which she could possibly handle; in exercising her in the use of the manual alphabet; in extending in every possible way her knowledge of the physical relations of things; and in taking proper care of her health.

[At the end of the year the report of her case said:] Of beautiful sights, and sweet sounds, and pleasant odors, she has no conception; nevertheless she seems as happy and playful as a bird or a lamb; and the employment of her intellectual faculties, the acquirement of a new idea, gives her a vivid pleasure, which is plainly marked in her expressive features. She never seems to repine, but has all the buoyancy and gaiety of childhood. She is fond of fun and frolic, and, when playing with the rest of the children, her shrill laugh sounds loudest of the group. When left

alone, she seems very happy if she has her knitting or sewing, and will busy herself for hours; if she has no occupation, she evidently amuses herself by imaginary dialogues, or by recalling past impressions; she counts with her fingers, or spells out names of things which she has recently learned, in the manual alphabet of the deaf-mutes. In this lonely self-communion she reasons, reflects, and argues; if she spells a word wrong with the fingers of her right hand, she instantly strikes it with her left, as her teacher does, in sign of disapprobation; if right, then she pats herself upon the head and looks pleased. She sometimes purposely spells a word wrong with the left hand, looks roguish for a moment, and laughs, and then with the right hand strikes the left, as if to correct it. . . .

When Laura is walking through a passage-way, with her hands spread before her, she knows instantly every one she meets, and passes them with a sign of recognition; but if it be a girl of her own age, and especially if one of her favorites, there is instantly a bright smile of recognition, an intertwining of arms, a grasping of hands, and a swift telegraphing upon the tiny fingers, whose rapid evolutions convey the thoughts and feelings from the outposts of one mind to those of the other. There are questions and answers, exchanges of joy or sorrow; there are kissings and partings, just as between little children with all their senses. . . .

LAURA AND HER MOTHER

During this year [1838], and six months after she had left home, her mother came to visit her, and their meeting was an interesting one. The mother stood some time, gazing with overflowing eyes upon her unfortunate child, who, all unconscious of her presence, was playing about the room. Presently Laura ran against her, and at once began feeling of her hands, examining her dress, and trying to find out if she knew her; but, not succeeding in this, she turned away as from a stranger, and the poor woman could not conceal the pang she felt, at finding that her beloved child did not know her. She then gave Laura a string of beads which she used to wear at home, which were recognized by the child at once, who, with much joy, put them around her neck, and sought me eagerly, to say she understood the string was from her home. The mother now tried to caress her, but poor Laura repelled her, preferring to be with her acquaintances. Another article from home was now given her, and she began to look much interested; she examined the stranger much closer, and gave me to understand that she knew she came from Hanover; she even endured her caresses, but would leave her with indifference at the slightest signal. The distress of the mother was now painful to behold; for, although

she had feared she should not be recognized, yet the reality of being treated with cold indifference by a darling child was too much for woman's nature to bear.

After a while, on the mother taking hold of her again, a vague idea seemed to flit across Laura's mind, that this could not be a stranger; she therefore felt of her hands very eagerly, while her countenance assumed an expression of intense interest; she became very pale, and then suddenly red; hope seemed struggling with doubt and anxiety, and never were contending emotions more strongly painted upon the human face. At this moment of painful uncertainty, the mother drew her close to her side, and kissed her fondly; when at once the truth flashed upon the child, and all mistrust and anxiety disappeared from her face, as with an expression of exceeding joy she eagerly nestled to the bosom of her parent, and yielded herself to her fond embraces.

After this, the beads were all unheeded; the playthings which were offered to her were utterly disregarded; her playmates, for whom but a moment before she gladly left the stranger, now vainly strove to pull her from her mother; and, though she yielded her usual instantaneous obedience to my signal to follow me, it was evidently with painful reluctance. She clung close to me, as if bewildered and fearful; and when, after a moment, I took her to her mother, she sprang to her arms, and clung to her with eager joy. . . .

LAURA COINS WORDS AND WRITES

In her eagerness to advance her knowledge of words and to communicate her ideas, she coins words, and is always guided by analogy. Sometimes her process of *word-making* is very interesting; for instance, after some time spent in giving her an idea of the abstract meaning of *alone*, she seemed to obtain it, and understanding that being *by one's self* was to be alone, or *al-one*; she was told to go to her chamber, or school, or elsewhere, and return *alone*; she did so, but soon after, wishing to go with one of the little girls, she strove to express her meaning thus, "Laura go *al-two*." The same eagerness is manifested in her attempts to define for the purpose of classification. . . .

Having acquired the use of substantives, adjectives, verbs, prepositions and conjunctions, it was deemed time to make the experiment of trying to teach her to *write*, and to show her that she might communicate her ideas to persons not in contact with her. It was amusing to witness the mute amazement with which she submitted to the process, the docility with which she imitated every motion, and the perseverance with which

she moved her pencil over and over again in the same track, until she could form the letter. But when at last the idea dawned upon her, that by this mysterious process she could make other people understand what she thought, her joy was boundless. Never did a child apply more eagerly and joyfully to any task than she did to this, and in a few months she could make every letter distinctly, and separate words from each other. . . .

She is so much in company with blind persons that she thinks blindness common; and, when first meeting persons, she asks if they are blind, or she feels of their eyes. She evidently knows that the blind differ from seeing persons, for when she shows blind persons anything, she always puts their fingers on it.

She seems to have a perception of character, and to have no esteem for those who have little intellect. The following anecdote is significant of her perception of character, and shows that from her friends she requires something more than good-natured indulgence. A new scholar entered school, a little girl about Laura's age. She was very helpless, and Laura took great pride and great pains in showing her the way about the house, assisting her to dress and undress, and doing for her many things which she could not do for herself. In a few weeks it began to be apparent, even to Laura, that the child was not only helpless, but naturally very stupid, being almost an idiot. Then Laura gave her up in despair, and avoided her, and has ever since had an aversion to being with her, passing her by as if in contempt. By a natural association of ideas she attributes to this child all those countless deeds which *Mr. Nobody* does in every house; if a chair is broken or anything misplaced, and no one knows who did it, Laura attributes it at once to this child. . . .

THE RESULT OF TEN YEARS' TEACHING

When she began fairly to comprehend and to use arbitrary language, then she got hold of a thread by which her mind could be guided out into the light; she has held on to it firmly and followed it eagerly, and come out into a world which has been made to her one of joy and gladness by the general welcome with which she has been greeted. Her progress has been a curious and an interesting spectacle. She has come into human society with a sort of triumphal march; her course has been a perpetual ovation. Thousands have been watching her with eager eyes, and applauding each successful step; while she, all unconscious of their gaze, holding on to the slender thread and feeling her way along, has advanced with faith and courage towards those who awaited her with trembling hope. Nothing shows more than her case the importance which, despite their useless

waste of human life and human capacity, men really attach to a human soul. They owe to her something for furnishing an opportunity of showing how much of goodness there is in them; for surely the way in which she has been regarded is creditable to humanity. Perhaps there are not three living women whose names are more widely known than hers; and there is not one who has excited so much sympathy and interest. There are thousands of women in the world who are striving to attract its notice and gain its admiration—some by the natural magic of beauty and grace, some by the high nobility of talent, some by the lower nobility of rank and title, some by the vulgar show of wealth; but none of them has done it so effectually as this poor blind, deaf, and dumb girl, by the silent show of her misfortunes, and her successful efforts to surmount them.

Principles of Public Charity¹

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

In providing for the poor, the dependent, and the vicious, especially for the young, we must take the ordinary family for our model. We must, in a general view of them, bear in mind that they do not as yet form with us a well marked and persistent class, but a conventional, and, perhaps, only a temporary one. They do not differ from other men, except that, taken as a whole, they inherited less favorable moral tendencies, and less original vigor. Care should be taken that we do not by our treatment transform the conventional class into a real one and a persistent one.

In providing for them we are to consider that although there exists in them, as in all men, a strong gregarious instinct, out of which grows society, there are yet stronger domestic instincts out of which grows the family, and upon which depend the affections and the happiness of the individual. We cannot make the gratification of one instinct atone for the disappointment of the others. No amount of instruction and mental culture compensates for stunted affections; no abundance of society compensates for poverty of domestic relations; and the denial of these to the dependent poor, especially to the young, can only be justified by stern necessity. The family has been called the social unit. It is indeed the basis without which there will be no real society, but a multitude of individuals who harden into selfishness as they grow older. By means of the affections growing out of the family, the individual is divided into many; and the interests of others are felt to be his own.

God not only "set the solitary in families," and made "blood thicker

¹ Extract from *Second Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, January, 1866*, pp. xlv-xlvi, xliv-xlv, xli-xliv.

than water," but seems to have ordained that the natural institution of the family, growing out of kindred, and long familiar intercourse, must be at the foundation of all permanent social institutions, and that by no human contrivance should any effectual substitute be found for it. But the family instinct craves a permanent homestead; and the lack of that is one of the greatest evils of poverty.

If we look through history we shall find that none of the attempts to imitate the family, upon a large scale, have been successful, and that most of them have been disastrous failures. They require separation of sexes, and this involves a train of evils. Large numbers of one sex, living together permanently as a family, constitute an unnatural community, which necessarily tends to a morbid condition. Armies, and still more, navies, show this in some degree; but where the congregation is closer and longer continued, as in monasteries, nunneries, knighthood-militant, shakerism, and other establishments on like foundation, the evil effects are multiplied and intensified. The public history of such establishments shows this plainly. . . .

GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC CHARITY

In considering what measures ought to be taken for the care and treatment of the dependent and vicious classes, we are to bear in mind several principles.

1st. That if, by investing one dollar, we prevent an evil the correction of which would cost ten cents a year, we save four per cent.

2d. That it is better to separate and diffuse the dependent classes than to congregate them.

3d. That we ought to avail ourselves as much as possible of those remedial agencies which exist in society,—the family, social influences, industrial occupations, and the like.

4th. That we should enlist not only the greatest possible amount of popular sympathy, but the greatest number of individuals and of families, in the care and treatment of the dependent.

5th. That we should avail ourselves of responsible societies and organizations which aim to reform, support, or help any class of dependents; thus lessening the direct agency of the State, and enlarging that of the people themselves.

6th. That we should build up public institutions only in the last resort.

7th. That these should be kept as small as is consistent with wise economy, and arranged so as to turn the strength and the faculties of the inmates to the best account.

8th. That we should not retain the inmates any longer than is manifestly for their good, irrespective of their usefulness in the institution. . . .

PROVISION FOR DISABLED SOLDIERS

There is, indeed, danger at this very moment that the earnest desire of the people to show their gratitude to those who carried the country triumphantly through the war, may lead to the formation of institutions upon unsound principles, which may prove to be nuisances, and cumber the field of charity in the next generation.

We cannot be too grateful for the services rendered; too reverent of the memories of our dead heroes, or too tender and generous to those survivors who need sympathy and aid. But we must remember that the warmer is the public heart, the more need of right direction for its impulses. Many of our soldiers may need *homes*, but such homes as we ourselves need; and a great institution, with its congregation of one sex,—with its necessary discipline, and its monotonous life,—never was and never can be such a home as our deserving veterans ought to have.

Better the poorest hut in a retired hamlet, with its single family gathered round the hearthstone, where,

The broken soldier, kindly bade to stay,
Sits by the fire and talks the night away,

than a showy building, set upon a hill, with its corps of officials, its parade of charity, and its clock-work and steam for doing domestic work so thoroughly that it is robbed of all its old and endearing associations. Unless some as yet undiscovered method is found to check the evil tendencies of all institutions which congregate persons of one sex, and substitute artificial for real family influences, soldiers' homes, or asylums, or refuges, will be likely to share the fate of like institutions in older countries. They will degenerate like the Invalides and the *Quinze Vingts* in France, and the Greenwich Hospital in England; and a succeeding generation will be occupied, as is the present generation abroad, in correcting their evils or cutting at their roots.

There is danger, indeed, that our institutions may not start under as favorable auspices as did some of the foreign ones. They were at first filled with well deserving veterans who had been actually wounded, or blinded, or disabled in war. But the signs already portend that into ours will press hardly any respectable Americans, few deserving foreigners, but a multitude of "bounty-jumpers and shirks," who want to eat but not to work.

Another danger is the very abundance of means of endowing such institutions; for there is not only the exhaustless treasure of the people's

gratitude and the people's purse, but there are funds in hands of the government, derived from forfeitures, fines, unclaimed pay, and the like, which can be applied with seeming propriety to such purposes.

Besides, at this moment, there abound unemployed men who think they can do something better than work. Some of these aspire to honor, and some to office, and they will seek to connect themselves as patrons, or as officers, with institutions likely to have temporary popularity.

If the unreasoning impulse to build up special homes for soldiers is not followed with great caution, a large part of these funds will be invested at the outset in lands and buildings; a part of the remainder will be spent in keeping them in order; and a larger part in paying a costly corps of officers and retainers; leaving a small portion only for the immediate benefit of the soldiers. Better far, even as an economical measure, would be some well devised plan by which the money could go directly to the soldier, to be spent, or saved, or even wasted, at his will.

Besides, the natural desire of the deserving soldier, disabled in the war, is with few exceptions, to be at or near his old home and among his old associates; and the people should have him there, and nowhere else; not only for his happiness but their own good; that he may go about among them, wearing his orders of merit—his honorable scars—to keep alive in their hearts the feelings of patriotism and of gratitude.

Better have 500 maimed veterans stumping about the towns and villages of Massachusetts, living partly on their pension and partly by their work, than shut up in the costliest and best structure that art could plan or money build.

Among the establishments of this kind which have already sprung up in various parts of the country, some are under the guidance of men who are not only earnest and honest, but wise and practical; and they will, for a time, keep down the unfavorable tendencies; but their vigilance and care cannot be always enjoyed, while the tendencies are innate, and will crop out sooner or later. In some of the establishments, or homes, they have not begun to do so; but in others they are already painfully visible.

In whatever is done we must not favor the creation of a separate class, but encourage the fusion of the soldier with general society. We must not lessen self-respect, or reluctance to accept direct aid, either in the soldiers themselves or in their widows and children, but merely help them to help themselves.

The board would encourage every popular impulse leading to thought and care for our fellow-men of whatever class; and these remarks are inspired by the wish of making the present sympathy for the soldier productive of the most good and the least evil.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, which meets in Des Moines, May 11-18, promises to be a brilliant and successful one. The new secretary, Mr. Howard Knight, and the president, Dr. John Lapp, have been zealous and effective in bringing out an interesting series of programs and speakers. Meeting with the Conference are a score of smaller organizations known as "kindred groups." These meetings begin as early as May 9, and include, among others: the American Association for Community Organization, the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, the American Association of Hospital Social Workers, the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, the American Association of Social Workers, the American Country Life Association, the Child Welfare League of America, the International Association of Policewomen, the National Conference of International Institutes, the National Conference of Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the National Probation Association, the Association of Schools of Professional Social Work, the Big Brother and Big Sister Federation, the National Association of Travelers' Aid Societies.

There have been few changes in the general program arrangements for 1927. The two recently organized divisions on "Professional Standards and Education" and "Publicity Methods" are being continued and promise to remain as permanent divisions. Since the Conference is meeting in the agricultural section of the Middle West, all the division committees have given special attention to rural social problems in their programs.

A COMMITTEE of the Social Science Research Council has circulated "an important communication to social scientists with a sample of Social Science Abstracts." This communication, which is in mimeographed form, sets forth a plan for the establishment of a journal of social science abstracts. In substance, it is proposed that an abstract service be maintained jointly by the social science societies which are constituent members of the Social Science Research Council. The cost of administration and publication would be met in part by subscription and in part by a subsidy or grant of funds from some national foundation.

The editorial arrangements would provide for an organization to consist of an editor-in-chief and four assistant editors, one for each subject, and a large group of co-operating abstractors.

The committee call attention to the fact that research in social science is greatly hampered by the lack of indexes of abstracts of periodical literature.

At the present time our research workers are far more handicapped than chemists or physicists, because scientists in these latter subjects have resort to such publications as *Chemical Abstracts* and *Science Abstracts*, wherein are found, systematically indexed, careful abstracts covering the whole field. A research worker in these sciences can do his preliminary reading with convenience and expedition. In contrast, the social scientist who wants to exhaust the periodical literature on his subject cannot depend on the existing abstracts published in social science journals, however excellent these may be as individual pieces of work, since the existing abstracts do not fully cover the field. Consequently, he must supplement them by considerable reading from original articles and run the risk of missing something really important.

The advantages of the plan are set forth briefly as follows:

a) The whole field of social science would be covered with approximate completeness, so that cross-referencing would make accessible valuable leads from related fields, on which so much progress depends.

b) Duplication in abstracting would be avoided, such as would exist if every journal abstracted independently for its own clientèle.

c) One large, strong abstract journal could secure by exchange or purchase more current social literature than could independent journals, and this would save duplicate subscriptions.

The members of the committee responsible for the plan include Professor F. Stuart Chapin, chairman, University of Minnesota; Professor Davis R. Dewey, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Professor A. C. Hanford, Harvard University; and Professor Walter F. Willcox, Cornell University. This committee has been at work on the plan for the past three years, and the matter has been considered by the Social Science Research Council at each of its meetings since 1923.

The need of such a journal is widely felt, and it is to be hoped that a plan for financing it may be successfully worked out. It is expected that the subscription rate will be something over five dollars annually, and those interested in becoming subscribers are asked to write to the chairman of the committee.

A MEMORANDUM on the projected encyclopedia of the social sciences has recently been issued. This is a joint project sponsored by the following organizations: American Economic Association, American Historical Association, American Political Science Association, American Sociological Society, American Statistical Association, American Anthropological Society, American Association of Social Workers.

These societies, through a joint committee, have set forth the imperative need of an authoritative summary of the results achieved in their related fields. In the words of the memorandum:

Not only have the various social problems, in the broadest sense of the term, become of engrossing importance to the modern world; but there has developed a recognition of the close interrelation of all the social sciences and the need of so restating the conclusions of modern investigation in the light of these interrelations. Just as the great French *Encyclopédie* in the eighteenth century marked an epoch of turning men's thoughts to a more careful study of the world of nature, so it is believed that a great encyclopedia of the social sciences might mark a similar epoch in stimulating progress in all the various disciplines that constitute the science of society.

Professor Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia University, in a letter supporting the project, lays stress upon two factors,

one of which is obvious, the other less generally recognized. The obvious factor is that cyclopedias, while permanently useful as landmarks, are useful as contributing agencies in the development of science chiefly in proportion to their up-to-dateness. We have no encyclopedia which includes recent contributions to knowledge. Since the social sciences have been developing at a more rapid rate in the last ten years than for several generations, I think this consideration should be given heavy weight.

What interests me most, however, is that in the recent developments of the social sciences, the active workers have been continually crossing departmental lines in their pursuit of problems. The result is that the economist is more and more conscious of his need of information, which a taxonomist would classify as law, political science, sociology, psychology, statistics, or history. If we can get a common reference book covering the whole field of the social sciences, we shall render an important constructive service to those active workers. They are, I take it, the people whom, as scientific men, we are under heaviest obligation to serve.

The comprehensive character of the proposed work is indicated by the fact that it will probably contain ten volumes of approximately eight hundred thousand words each. It is estimated that, although six years will be required to complete the entire work, the initial volume may be ready within two years, and thereafter it should be practicable to issue

two volumes annually. The estimated cost is \$600,000. Advance subscriptions are asked for and offered at a special rate of forty-five dollars—a discount of 40 per cent.

The editor-in-chief will be Dr. E. R. A. Seligman, professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Representatives of the American Association of Social Workers on the Committee are: Neva R. Deardorff, president; Philip Klein, executive secretary; and William Hodson, of New York.

THE League of Nations' report on the white-slave traffic¹ is one of the contributions made by America to the work of the League. The investigation was suggested by an American member of the Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children five years ago. The necessary funds were raised in this country, and the planning and conduct of the inquiry were placed in the hands of a subcommittee, of which another American, Dr. William Freeman Snow, of the American Social Hygiene Association, was chairman. A lengthy summary of Dr. Snow's report was published in the newspapers here and in Europe during the week of March 6. The *London Times*, in a leading editorial, has described this report on efforts to deal internationally with a terrible evil as "an infinitely important piece of work."

The scope of the report, and, incidentally, of the traffic is indicated by the fact that some five thousand persons, connected with the business of commercialized prostitution, made statements to the investigators. The report also contains information secured from the various governments and also from protective and preventive organizations in various countries. According to the report, the "traffic" is still "extensive," although, as a result of international conventions already in existence, it is "probably less than it used to be."

That this hideous subject is one that calls for international action is indicated by the fact that in some countries where the number of registered prostitutes is high, about 70 per cent of them are foreigners; in these countries hundreds of women are constantly being imported from abroad, some of them against their will, others willingly; but few of them are fully aware of the conditions in which they are going to be placed. It is clear that a foreign woman is easier to intimidate and enslave in any country. It is not surprising that the report also shows that a large number of the girls concerned are minors.

That the trade is highly organized and can be made to yield large

¹ See below, p. 354.

"profits" to the "principals" has long been known. The main routes are from Europe to Central and South America and from Europe to Egypt and other places in Northern Africa. Apparently the work of the United States Immigration Commission, 1908-11, the White Slave Traffic Act of 1910, and the increasing rigor with which our immigration laws have been enforced have had much to do with turning the traffic from our shores.

The report is a victory for the "abolitionists" in all countries. It condemns root and branch the system of "licensing" houses of prostitution. The *maisons tolérées* of France and certain other countries of Europe were condemned vigorously ten years ago by Mr. Abraham Flexner in his standard work on *Regulation of Prostitution in Europe*; and this report, without mentioning the countries by name, shows how ruinous is the wastefulness of the old system. The old theory that state regulation of vice might afford protection to public health, which cropped up sporadically here and there during the war, is severely criticized on medical grounds as well as on social and moral grounds. Moreover, it is clearly demonstrated that in this matter no country liveth unto itself alone, for the system of maintaining "licensed houses" is shown to be of international concern as being "an incentive to traffic, both national and international."

The question of the abolition of state regulation in all countries has thus acquired an international character, and the report sets out the duty of all governments "to examine the question thoroughly in the light of the latest medical knowledge and practice, and to consider the possibility of abandoning a system which is fraught with such dangers from the point of view of international traffic."

The council of the League referred the report to the Advisory Commission for the Protection of the Welfare of Children and Young People, which met in Geneva on April 25. The American members of this Committee are Grace Abbott, the chief of the United States Children's Bureau; Julia C. Lathrop, the former chief of the Bureau; and Charlotte Whiddon, of the Child Welfare Department of Canada.

The report is severely criticized in the *London Times* on one point, and that is the failure to name the offending countries or municipalities. "Except in the incidental mention of Buenos Aires and in that of an unidentified 'town in Turkey,' all names are kept back." The *Times* may well ask:

Is that the best that the League can do by way of publicity? Surely in such a cause it should be used to applaud the active promoters of reform, to shame and stimulate the sluggish, and to hold up to infamy the incorrigible patrons of

iniquity. Each country should be called upon to answer for itself before the conscience of the world and have judgment according to its works. . . . The League has more power than any human organization ever had to pursue the destruction of this traffic to the end. It has only to tell the truth and the world will insist upon action. To keep back after due warning the names of any states which might acquiesce or connive in the continuance of the evil would be little short of complicity in their guilt. The League has begun well, but it must go forward much more resolutely if it is to satisfy the conscience of christendom.

TWO measures of importance to social workers were finally passed by the expiring Sixty-ninth Congress. The Longshoremen's Accident Compensation Bill, which the American Association for Labor Legislation has supported so valiantly, went through "in the last tense filibustering hour." This is the first federal compensation law for workers in private employment, and it also introduces the principle of "workmen's compensation" into the five non-compensation states of the South.

The other act was the resolution extending for two years the appropriation for carrying on the Maternity and Infancy Act, better known to its old friends under the name of Sheppard-Towner. Although the Maternity and Infancy Act is permanent legislation, the appropriation authorized under Section 2 of the act was for a five-year period that expires June 30, 1927. During the relatively short period the act has been in operation, forty-three states have accepted the opportunity to secure federal funds to add to their own appropriations for a program of maternal and infant health.

Some of these states had no child-health work under the state government before this act was passed. Foundation work has now been completed in nearly all the states, so that actual developments on a state-wide scale will soon be under way. The work is primarily educational and its effects cumulative.

Nearly 1,000,000 babies and preschool children and approximately 180,000 expectant mothers were reached during the fiscal year 1926 by this national program. More than 20,000 prenatal and child health conferences were held, at which 10,554 mothers and 159,244 children received examinations by physicians. Nurses held 6,407 conferences, at which 7,460 mothers and 31,880 children were advised and helped; and 283 permanent new health centers were established. Even in the short time that the work has been under way, there has been a tendency toward lower infant and maternal mortality rates. Surely no work is more important to the nation.

The opposition to the act was carried on largely in the name of "states'

rights." It was charged that the act was unconstitutional in spite of the fact that the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *Massachusetts v. Mellon* (1923), 262 U.S. 488, had definitely upheld its constitutionality.

The appendix of the *Congressional Record* (January 13, 1927) contains typical arguments against the act, together with a lengthy statement showing what one senator thinks of social workers, who are described as "professional patronizers of the poor."

It should not be forgotten in reading these filibustering speeches that the loss of mothers from causes connected with childbearing is greater in the United States than in any of the countries of Europe.

THE London *Nation and Athenaeum* (Vol. XL, No. 17), in a comment on the British Registrar General's Report on Vital Statistics for 1926, notes that it shows

all the usual features. The birth-rate continues to decline; so does the death-rate; so, in particular, does the rate of infantile mortality. The fact that these various tendencies are now long established detracts somewhat from their headline value; but their real interest and significance is greatly heightened by their persistency. Taken altogether, indeed, they constitute the outstanding social phenomenon of modern times—a phenomenon which deserves public attention of a more intelligent sort than is ordinarily given to it. . . . There is no fact of which twentieth-century Britain has more reason to be proud than the fall in infantile mortality. The fall in the birth-rate is an affair of the past fifty years. The fall in the death-rate is an affair of steady progress over a century and a half. But the decline in infantile mortality has not been a steady process. How little the Victorian Age contributed to it, how great has been the achievement of the present century, may be gathered from the following Table:

ENGLAND AND WALES

Periods	RATE PER 1,000 POPULATION		DEATHS UNDER ONE YEAR PER 1,000 BIRTHS
	Births	Deaths	
1851-55.....	33.9	22.7	156
1871-75.....	35.5	22.0	153
1891-95.....	30.5	18.7	151
1896-1900.....	29.3	17.7	156
1901-5.....	28.2	16.0	138
1906-10.....	26.3	14.7	117
1911-15.....	23.6	14.3	110
1919.....	18.5	14.0	89
1924.....	18.8	12.2	75
1925.....	18.3	12.2	75
1926.....	17.8	11.6	70

Surely the third column tells an eloquent story. While the infantile mortality rate was virtually the same when Queen Victoria died as when reliable statistics were first collected, we have since succeeded in more than halving it. Immense progress had been made before the war began. The difficulties of war time failed to check it. Despite all our troubles of housing and unemployment, it has continued uninterruptedly in the post-war period. Let the reader remind himself how slowly mass statistics ordinarily move, how comparatively slight are the variations to which it is usual and proper to attach significance, and he will realize that he is here in the presence of a most impressive fact. Not in every respect, assuredly, have we become decadent since the good Queen died! And surely we have here a fairly solid justification for the expenditure on social reform and public health, which is so commonly decried as a wasteful extravagance.

THE TREATMENT of able-bodied men with large families in the French program of public assistance and of private charity is of no little interest in view of the Anglo-American tradition against relief in aid of wages.

French legislation dealing with the *famille nombreuse* goes back to 1890, when heads of such families were exempted from certain taxes, and to 1896, when their school fees were reduced. The act providing for the present elaborate scheme of public assistance was passed in 1913, giving the municipal councils power within certain limits to fix the rates of allowance for the *familles nombreuses* in their jurisdiction. Administrative regulations determine the procedure for obtaining the grants, the conditions of supervision, and other matters of that kind. Since 1913 a number of laws have been passed in the direction of extending the principle and liberalizing the administration, which is under the general supervision of the same bureau in the Ministry of Labor, Hygiene, Public Assistance, and Social Insurance which is concerned with the administration of infant care, wrongs against children, and so forth.

No public aid of this kind can of course be really adequate, and private societies have therefore been organized to supplement the allowances and to secure an extension of the policy. There is, for example, the Alliance Nationale, which has for its object the developing of a strong opinion in favor of a policy leading to the increase of the birth-rate and the protection of large families. This organization issues publications calling attention to the dangers resulting from the depopulation of France, and through committees of women undertakes to render direct aid in cases of special distress in large families. Two other organizations, Les Mères Françaises and Nos Familles, also secure aid for families of this sort; and there is also

a league, *Les Familles Nombreuses*, which attempts especially to influence public officials and to obtain an extension of the law giving aid to large families. In addition to these four organizations is the *Union Française pour le Sauvetage des Enfants*.

Each month *L'Assistance Educative*, a monthly publication devoted to the interests of private charity, publishes summaries of cases of special distress in families with a large number of children and calls for aid in their treatment. The following translation of a case summary in the issue of March, 1927, is an interesting illustration of relief methods in France:

F—, *Sarthe, family. 363rd case.*—Father, 31 years. Mother, 31 years. Eight living children, 13, 11, 10, 7, 5, 4, 2 years and 1 year; a ninth is dead, who would have been 9 years old. M. F— is a shoemaker. He works at his home, but not on his own account, and earns from 18 to 20 francs a day at the most (and that not every day, he says). The eldest daughter, 13 years old, is at the home of a grocer of the village where she earns her board, but no wages. Thus there is only the earnings of the father and the Aid for Large Families to enable 10 persons to live. They receive nothing from the office of the mayor, nor from any private society. Their income is as follows for one month:

25 days at 20 francs	500 fr.
Aid for Large Families	120 fr.
Total Income	620 fr.

This makes scarcely 2 francs per person per day, a sum quite insufficient when bread is at 2 fr. 60 a kilo.

The house and the children are very neat and well cared for. This honest, clean family (the children are beautiful) is in want solely because of the large number of children. At this very moment there is nothing to eat. Several years from now the eldest children will begin to earn and will be able to help their parents. For two or three years a monthly allowance of 100 francs at least will be necessary. They are well thought of, deeply rooted in their neighborhood; but if the children suffer too much, they will go away as soon as they grow up to the shops of the great cities, to swell the number of malcontents and radicals. For 200 francs a year they might live in a pleasant house in the open country.

This policy of public relief for aid of large families should not be confused with the "family allowance" plan for the payment of wages adopted likewise by many industrial corporations in France and urged as a universal basis for wage determination by Miss Eleanor Rathbone in England (*The Disinherited Family*) and by Professor Paul H. Douglas in the United States (*Wages and the Family*, chaps. v and vi).

THE RECENT publication of the first of the Sir Charles Loch Memorial Lectures recalls the long history of the Charity Organization movement and the fine tradition of service in which America and England share alike.

Sir Charles Loch was not the founder of the London Charity Organization Society. It had been organized in 1869, while he was still a student at Balliol. But Oxford at that time was producing men who were interested in social questions, and Charles Loch was one of those who brought Oxford ideals and learning to the service of the London poor. In 1874, at the age of twenty-six, he joined the Society as a member of one of its then recently organized committees, and in the following year he became its secretary, a post which he held without interruption for the next thirty-nine years. At the time of his death, four years ago, the *London Times*, referring to the widespread influence of the London Society, said, "This is Loch's work. He made the C.O.S. He is the C.O.S." In the memorial notice in the little book of papers and addresses¹ published after his death, Sir Arthur Clay said: "For a doctrine which when first it was preached was so unpopular, and which throughout its career has met with such constant criticism and opposition, to have achieved so large a measure of success is indeed remarkable, and is a great tribute to the soundness of the doctrine and to the skill and tact of those by whom it had been introduced to the world. . . . All those who knew Loch and who had watched the progress of the doctrine at home and abroad knew to how great an extent this success was due to the skill with which he had guided the development of the parent Society—the London C.O.S."

The movement was transplanted to the United States by an English Unitarian minister, Rev. Samuel Humphreys Gurteen, who had been called to Buffalo. In 1882 Mr. Gurteen published his *Handbook of Charity Organization* because of the widespread interest which was already being felt in every section of the country in the movement then commonly known as "Charity Organization." Mr. Gurteen received so many letters asking for information about the Buffalo plan that he published in Buffalo a substantial volume of 250 pages in which he set forth the new principles of relief. The original name has since been widely repudiated in America; but, under the name of the Family Welfare Society, the aims and methods of the C.O.S. are still carried on, and the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the movement will be fittingly observed in Buffalo next October.

¹ *A Great Ideal and Its Champion: Papers and Addresses by the Late Sir Charles Stewart Loch*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1923.

In the inaugural lecture on "The Problem of Private Benevolence in the Modern State," the Bishop of Durham (Dr. Hensley Henson) pays tribute to Sir Charles Loch as one who "insisted on the necessity of conditioning charity by science. This was what he meant by 'organizing charity.' It meant bringing social and economic science to the shaping of charitable methods, and the disciplining of charitable sentiments. Ignorant benevolence might, he urged, increase the ills it aspired to cure."

Americans have always found it hard to understand the deep feeling against the C.O.S. in Great Britain. The explanation lies undoubtedly in the wide influence of Sir Charles Loch and in his vigorous resistance to every extension of state relief in whatever form. Free meals for school children, old-age pensions, health and unemployment insurance he opposed because his guiding social philosophy was a belief in the virtues of initiative and independence, and he feared the results of the new social policies. As the Bishop of Durham well says, "He believed in freedom and in thrift intensely, in the bravery of spirit which men and women may gather from self-support."

ON APRIL 7, the Massachusetts Supreme Court, in full bench and by unanimous vote, refused a rehearing of the case of the two defendants, Sacco and Vanzetti, found guilty in 1920 of the murder of the paymaster in a shoe factory in South Braintree, Massachusetts, and on April 9 the two men received the death sentence. There still remains the possibility of an appeal to the United States courts and of executive clemency on the part of the Governor of Massachusetts. The case has become a *cause célèbre*, and in the minds of many is proof of a class bias on the part of the courts and of the breakdown of American justice under modern conditions. The story is too familiar to require repeating, but note should be taken of the grave situation existing when faith in the courts is undermined. In his Foreword to *Justice and the Poor*, Mr. Elihu Root speaks of those "changes in conditions which have put justice beyond the reach of the poor." And in a similar introduction to the United States Bureau of Labor bulletin on the *Growth of Legal Aid Work in the United States*, Mr. Chief Justice Taft refers to various influences, "social changes, the influx of persons of foreign birth, and great increase in the cost of litigation which have seriously impaired the usefulness of our courts to those who most need their protection." These are serious words spoken by conservative and learned lawyers, having in mind especially the denial of justice in civil action where cost and delay were involved.

Even more serious is a denial of justice in criminal actions. The widespread belief that these two defendants have not been proved guilty and that they were prosecuted rather for their radical views than for the act with which they were charged, and convicted by perjured testimony unconvincing and inadequate, is a source of grave peril to American institutions. That there is a sound basis for incredulity is proved by the interest taken in the case by Felix Frankfurter, professor of administrative law in the Harvard Law School, for four years Assistant United States Attorney, an interest expressed in an article in the *Atlantic* for March, 1927, and in a recently published book.

Professor Frankfurter points out that while trustworthiness is the foundation of the case, the testimony given was most untrustworthy—some witnesses gave testimony alleged by the mental hygiene experts to be impossible and incredible—that the evidence was none other than their “consciousness of guilt,” and that they were in fact victims of the terrorizing methods of the federal government, with whose officials the Massachusetts state’s attorney co-operated. He speaks of developments after conviction when new evidence was discovered strengthening the belief of those who thought the defendants innocent “which shake one’s confidence in the whole course of the proceedings and reveal a situation which undermines the respect usually to be accorded to a jury’s verdict.”

Professor Frankfurter also asserts that the judge’s opinion in this case stands unmatched in modern times for discrepancies between what the record discloses and what the opinion conveys. At the time when Professor Frankfurter wrote he thought “the outcome of the appeal to the higher tribunal ought not to be in doubt,” but the court has ruled otherwise.

The *New York Times*, in an editorial comment on the final decision of the courts, expresses the hope that the Governor will exercise clemency. The *Times* notes that the men

have had their day in court. That day has run to six years, as they were originally found guilty in 1921. Though poor men themselves, they have not lacked friends to raise money in order to employ skilful lawyers and exhaust every legal recourse in their behalf. Not even the most inflamed anarchist can say that Sacco and Vanzetti were hurried through the criminal courts and to execution by ruthless judicial process.

Apparently they have no resort now except executive clemency. There is some talk that their lawyers may appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, but it is hard to see how a federal question could be made to appear in this criminal case. The slow procedure of the Massachusetts courts has gone a full cycle.

Nevertheless the *Times* holds that there is good reason for executive action, and the editorial continues:

The very lapse of time since the men were tried and convicted could not fail to make their execution now seem not only delayed justice, but dubious justice. In such matters public sentiment has to be considered, and there would undoubtedly be a widespread feeling of popular revulsion at the thought of keeping men waiting six years to know their fate, and then inflicting capital punishment upon them. This is quite apart from the emotion which has been whipped up about these men simply because they were Communists and suspected of being involved in anarchist plots. That consideration Governor Fuller would do well to put firmly by. It is not for Massachusetts to seek to buy immunity from agitation. But the Governor might be warranted in feeling that justice would best be subserved by clemency now, after the extraordinary length of time which the courts have taken to reach their final conclusion, and after so many conscientious men and women, including not a few lawyers, both in Massachusetts and outside, have been troubled in their minds by doubts about the nature of the evidence, or a part of it, on which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted of murder.

AN INTERESTING suggestion regarding tenement-house reform has been made by Alexander M. Bing, of the City Housing Corporation of New York. In an address before the Pennsylvania Conference of Social Welfare Mr. Bing urged that the immense endowment funds which have been given to charitable and educational foundations be invested in model housing projects. Mr. Bing estimated that such endowments already total three and a half billion dollars. For the most part this wealth is held for investment, with only the interest or dividends used for the purpose for which the foundations are created. By investing the principal in housing enterprises undertaken to relieve the shortage of decent modern quarters for wage-earners, the endowment funds could be made to serve a double social purpose. That such funds may reach ten billion dollars in another generation is not, Mr. Bing thinks, a too extravagant estimate. "The use of only 5 or 10 per cent of the funds in limited-dividend housing companies should effect a tremendous change in housing conditions all over the country, and the institutions for whose benefit the funds were set aside would continue to receive the income."

IN THE *Revue Philanthropique* for December 15, 1926, and January 15, 1927, there is an interesting report of an effort to bring about a reform in the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, the local relief offices under the public assistance authority. In 1920 the question first came up in connection with a discussion of reform in the French system as a whole, and later

and more particularly in connection with the necessary reorganization of the recovered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

The subject has been discussed, both in section meetings and in general sessions of the Société Internationale pour l'Étude des Questions d'Assistance, several times between 1920 and 1924, when formal action was taken looking toward such an inquiry as might serve as the basis for legislation. Various proposals of change were coming from different sections of the country. One authority wished, in 1924, the name of the offices changed from "Bureaux de Bienfaisance" to "Office d'Assistance Sociale." Another, in 1925, suggested that there should be legislation both defining and extending the functions of the Bureaux. Later, in 1926, the office in Bordeaux supported by the departmental authority urged that a law be enacted requiring these offices or "bureaux" to be called "bureaux de secours à domicile et d'aide sociale." It seems clear that in order to assume wider functions and to change the name, legislation will be necessary, and to that end careful study is now being directed.

The recent report is by way of clarifying the problem with reference to the general situation in France and setting out certain difficulties to be found in the situation of the recovered provinces. Great differences in practice between rural and urban centers and a great variety in services among the urban communities are revealed. It is found that many offices give only relief, that being either in money or "in kind," or both. The *bureaux* in rural *communes* have resources too limited to allow a widening of their services. Those in the larger cities, however, have been able to broaden their field and in many cases to supply medical advice, dental care, centers for expectant and nursing mothers, dispensary service, nursery care in the home, workmen's gardens, workshops for the unemployed, lodging houses for homeless men and women, cheap dwellings for the aged or for large families, and other services of these general kinds. Some *bureaux* subsidize private agencies rendering the same kinds of service and share in their administration.

The officials of the different *bureaux* express many interesting views with reference to the proposed reform; as to the nature of the services to be rendered, the special needs to be met, the administrative relationships to be developed, and the resources to be made available. As in the United States, the relatively greater importance of service as compared with relief, the organization of specialized services—medical, nursing, visiting, housekeeping—is making itself felt, and the question of the relation between public and private aid is asking restatement, if not definition.

In the reorganization of the recovered provinces the question is complicated by the overlaying of the old French law by the more recent German imperial legislation, which was introduced into these provinces only in 1910. That law introduced new duties and indeed largely suppressed the pre-existing authorities and substituted new municipal services, and a new uniform provision for France will require many and varied adjustments in those provinces.

In spite of these difficulties the report proposes certain changes and submits a proposed statute to be considered by the society.

THE death on February 18 of Commodore Elbridge T. Gerry, one of the founders of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, in 1874, recalls the origin of that movement which the New York Society inaugurated. It was as counsel for a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals that he effected the rescue of a little girl and realized the need for legislation giving similar protection to children. It is said that the New York Society has aided no less than 300,000 children; and the societies in other states in the United States as well as the national movement in England, under the leadership of Benjamin Waugh, found their origin in the work of the New York agency.

Of the work of the Society in the earlier years, Mr. Homer Folks wrote as follows:

In addition to seeking to discover cases of cruelty and neglect, it stationed agents in all the magistrates' courts, to investigate all cases involving children, whether for destitution, neglect, cruelty, or waywardness. Through these agents it has advised the magistrates, not only as to whether commitment should be made, but as to what institutions the children should be committed to. Subsequently, the children were placed under the care of the society pending investigation, and the agents of the society were given the powers of police officers. Though the power to discharge the children was vested in the managers of the institutions, they, often regarding the society as the real authority through which the children had been sent to them, usually did not discharge the children either to their parents or by adoption or indenture, without consulting the society, and in some cases took no action in reference to discharge until so requested by the society. This society thus became, by 1890, the factor which actually controlled the reception, care, and disposition of destitute, neglected, and wayward children in New York City, thus practically controlling the lives of an average number of about fifteen thousand children, and an average annual expenditure for their support of more than one and one-half million dollars. Its influence has done more to strengthen and perpetuate the subsidy or contract

system, as it existed prior to 1894, than any other one factor, so far as destitute children are concerned (Folks, *Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Dependent Children*, p. 173).

The Society has commonly been known as the "Gerry Society," and Commodore Gerry's death recalls an interesting legal episode resulting in a decision of the highest court of New York that has had profound influence on both public welfare and child care development. The question at issue was the right of the New York Board of State Charities to call for reports and generally to visit and to supervise the Society under an article introduced into the constitution in 1894, granting to the Board the power to visit the charitable, reform, and correctional institutions. The annual reports of the Society had repeatedly appealed to the benevolent for gifts and bequests because of the charitable nature of this work; but when an attempt was made to exercise a supervising influence, of which Mr. Gerry had spoken most hopefully in an annual report, the agency refused to acquiesce and claimed that it was not a charitable agency because it did not receive public money. Hon. David B. Hill defended successfully the Society's claim, and the court ruled in its favor. The court said among other things:

We have attempted to do that [i.e., define a charitable institution] by holding that a charitable institution must be one that in some form or to some extent receives public money for the support and maintenance of indigent persons. By public money is meant money raised by taxation not only in the state at large but in any city, county, or town. The adoption of this principle will permit the board to visit, inspect, and regulate every institution in the state, public or private, where children or adults are supported or maintained, in whole or in part, by the use of public money, and every institution, public or private, where children or adults are sent or detained for support or maintenance in pursuance of any law. . . .

There must, in the nature of things, be a distinction in this respect between private institutions receiving public money in some form or in some measure as charity and the same class of institutions that do not. This may be illustrated by reference to a class of institutions mentioned in the moving papers. We will suppose that a private individual is wealthy and benevolent enough to found and endow a private hospital. When complete, the building and everything in it is his private property. No one is compelled by any law to go there or remain there, and the founder is under no legal obligation to receive patients. It is purely a private concern, and it is difficult to understand upon what legal ground the state can claim the right to inspect his books, or to make rules and regulations for the transaction of the business. There must be some limit to the power

of government to interfere in purely private affairs; and what is true of a hospital is equally true of many of the other private institutions referred to in the moving papers. But when any of these institutions become, in any form or to any extent, the recipients or beneficiaries of public money as charity, there is a just and reasonable ground upon which the state may claim the right of visitation. And it is by the application of this principle that a charitable institution, as used in the Constitution, is to be defined and understood (162 N.Y. Appeals 430; see also 161 N.Y. Appeals 233).

Nor was it, in the view of the court, more a correctional or reformatory institution or agency than the police. On this the court said:

Nor do we think that the suggestion that the defendant, if not a charitable institution, is a reformatory or a correctional one, has any substantial foundation. The defendant is not a correctional or a reformatory institution, unless, indeed, in the same sense that the police department or the police courts are. Much emphasis is placed upon the circumstance that the defendant, under a special statute, may be appointed guardian of a minor child. We assume that many trust companies and other corporations have been given the like capacity, but the fact that they possess such power does not prove or tend to prove that they are charitable institutions. It is said that this case is of great public importance, and in view of this suggestion we have carefully considered all that has been submitted in support of the motion, but we see no reason to change our views with respect to the proper decision of the case.

However, while accepting the status of a non-charitable organization in order to avoid central supervision, the claim was recently made that the Society was public and governmental, so that the salaries of the officials should not be taxable under the federal income tax law. On January 7, 1927, Judge Goddard of the Southern District of New York (Federal) handed down an opinion (*Lindsay v. Bowers, Collector of Internal Revenue*) denying the public character of the organization and holding that it is "free from control by the State except in a general way."

In these two matters of policy, reliance on institutional care, especially of subsidized institutions, and the rejection of central supervising assistance, the view of the Society is rejected by the great body of modern opinion. The contribution of the Society to the initial step in the direction of offering protection to neglected childhood is, however, a very real one.

THE REPORT of the Legal Aid Society of New York is discussed in an interesting editorial in the *New York Times* of April 7, 1927. The decline in the number of applicants who could not afford to engage a lawyer is explained "partly by the general prosperity of the country, and

partly by the tendency of trade-unions, political clubs, and other local bodies to supply legal aid to their members." The advance of the arbitration movement is given as another probable reason for the decrease. Disputes within all large industries are settled whenever possible out of court.

The editorial continues:

Gratifying results in a variety of work were obtained last year. Applications of divorced persons to re-marry, where a refusal would work injustice to children, were handled. Adoption proceedings to the number of four or five a month were put through. In most of these cases the children would have become wards of the city if they had not found homes. Claims for wages were pushed. Seamen's rights were protected. Action was taken against many kinds of fraudulent concerns. Tenant and landlord litigation was disposed of. Domestic difficulties were smoothed out.

Collection of wages is a most important work. To feel the force of this it is only necessary to put one's self in the place of the man or woman who for two or three weeks has been doing hard labor and finds that no pay is forthcoming. This is the situation of most of the applicants. The society feels strongly that delinquent employers should be heavily penalized. Is it just that the employer, after withholding wages, should be allowed to pay, when ready, the amount without any penalty? The employee is fortunate if his claim is collected without litigation, for often the loss of time in court and his fees make up a sum larger than that for which he is suing.

THE National Conference of the German "Society for Social Reform" (Gesellschaft für Soziale Reform) and the International Union for Social Progress (Internationale Vereinigung für Sozialen Fortschritt) will meet this year in Hamburg on June 28 and 29. The president is Dr. Ludwig Heyde, the editor of the well-known German weekly *Soziale Praxis*. Two questions of great importance for post-war Germany will be the chief subjects of discussion: "Salary Increases and the Purchasing Power of Money," and second, "Self-Administration in Social Politics."

All questions regarding the conference will be answered by *Archiv für Sozialpolitik*, Nollendorfstr. 29-30, Berlin W 30.

BOOK REVIEWS

Inheritance and Inequality. By H. D. HENDERSON. London: Daily News, 1926. Pp. 28.

The breakdown of official Liberalism and the rise of the British Labor party has forced many British Liberals to realize that their party will die unless they work out a progressive political and economic program which will be preferable to the alternative which Labor offers. This little pamphlet, which is a product of the Liberal Summer Schools, is published as a means of stimulating interest in further utilizing the inheritance tax, or the estates duty, as it is called in England, as a means of fiscal and social reform. Mr. Henderson declares that it is the great inequalities of wealth, rather than the private ownership of capital, which makes so many dissatisfied with the English industrial system. The chief cause for such great inequality as exists is in turn analyzed as being caused by inheritance, by which most men are born into the world saddled and bridled, while a few are born booted and spurred. If justice is to be secured, therefore, it is the private inheritance of wealth which should be reformed rather than the private ownership of industry. If the socialistic program of public ownership were to be effected and if the owners were compensated, as all but the Communists would propose, then the inequality of ownership would be as great as before. The former owners of industrial securities would simply be transformed into the holders of consols. Unless an inheritance tax were applied, no appreciable reform in the distribution of wealth would be effected. Since this is so, the author inquires why the inheritance tax cannot realize the ends sought without disturbing the present system of industrial ownership.

But if the present estate duties in England were to be increased still further, one of the incentives to production, namely, the desire to provide for one's children, would be reduced, while the stimulus to evasion in the form of gifts in anticipation of death would be increased. To meet this dilemma Mr. Henderson accepts the principle of Professor Rignano, the editor of *Scientia*, that the principle of progression should be applied through time to re-inheritances, and the remainder of the pamphlet is indeed nothing but a consideration of this stimulating theory. Rignano would tax more heavily estates, or those portions of estates, which are the result of previous inheritance than those accumulated during the life of the testator. The rate would increase as this estate was passed on from generation to generation. Thus a grandson would pay a higher rate than his father, and so on. By such methods large perpetual fortunes would gradually be reduced and there would be an increasing pressure for the descendants of the

original accumulators to go to work. The great evil of a hereditary and parasitical leisure class would thus largely be removed.

One difficulty in this plan is that if the tax is levied after death, it is virtually impossible in many instances to distinguish between property which is inherited and that which is acquired during one's lifetime. Thus, if a man inherits \$100,000 in securities, which shrinks to the value of \$25,000, but yet is able to build up his fortune again to \$100,000, his estate would be taxed for the full \$100,000 at the re-inheritance rate, although in fact only \$25,000 could belong in this category.

To meet this difficulty some have proposed that all estates should be handed over at death to a public trustee who would administer them and pay the income to the beneficiaries. It would thus be possible to separate inherited property from fresh savings. Mr. Henderson rejects this proposal as too cumbersome and proposes instead that the re-inheritance duty shall be collected from an estate when the *original* bequeather dies. The heirs thus not only receive the management of the remainder of the estate, but also receive during their lifetime an annuity equal to the prevailing interest rate upon the re-inheritance tax which the government thus collected in advance. The government would in turn use the tax to retire government bonds. It would of course have to set up as liabilities the capital value of the annuities, but these, even at the beginning, would tend to be less than the amount of the debt retired. The capital value would also of course decrease with the death of the annuitants.

Mr. Henderson further proposes (1) that the re-inheritance tax should be imposed on the amounts of the legacies to the original heirs, rather than upon the total size of the original estate; in this way the children of large families would not be penalized; (2) that the tax should be progressive as regards increments of wealth rather than for amounts as a whole; (3) that bequests to surviving spouses and to charitable institutions be exempted from the tax. He does not, however, deal with the important question as to the *rate* of progression through time which should be adopted. Thus one rate might lead to the virtual extinction in three generations of private holdings in an estate, while a lower rate might not effect this until, let us say, six generations had passed.

The principle advocated by Rignano seems on the whole to be sound and, with some of the modifications suggested by Mr. Henderson, to deserve adoption within our fiscal system. Mr. Henderson and other individualists fail to see, however, that in a country where the national debt is not great, it would lead to a form of that very socialism which men like himself are seeking to avoid. For the government plainly cannot afford to dissipate in current expenditures the vast amounts of industrial and economic capital which would thus inevitably come within its hands. Society could not permit most of its railways and factories to be transformed into battleships, post-offices, and parks. It would thus be inevitable that the government would acquire the ownership of a large share of the capital of the country. Public ownership of industry would thus be largely achieved, although enterprises might still be conducted by private management

operating either as corporations in which the state was a stockholder or by leasing the properties from the state.

This little primer, together with Dr. W. J. Schultz's translation of, and comments upon, the Rignano plan,¹ deserves to be read and pondered by all interested in public affairs.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

The Financing of Social Work. By ARTHUR W. PROCTOR and ARTHUR A. SCHUCK. Chicago and New York: A. W. Shaw Co., 1926. Pp. xiv+260. \$3.00.

This book is divided into the following parts: "I. The Underlying Principles," "II. The Organized Campaign or Drive," and "III. The Mail Campaign."

Part I begins with a discussion of the financial growth of private social service, particularly during the last twenty-five years, and of the large amount of money required to finance its current needs at the present time. The authors point out the widening of the circle of givers in this period and predict further developments in this direction. They also predict a further reduction in the cost of securing contributions for social service through improved methods of finance.

Tests which the "citizen investor" may make in determining what agencies he will support are discussed, including the protection afforded him through central indorsement committees and councils of social agencies. The motives for contributing to the social agency are analyzed. The authors consider that the two principal means of financing the agency are the personal appeal by means of a short intensive drive, and the mail appeal. These subjects are discussed in Part I preparatory to fuller exposition later in the book.

The technique of budget-making both for income and for expenditures is described. A chapter on the community chest presents its growth and present status, together with arguments for and against its use. In the opinion of the authors it represents the most important contribution to the problem of social financing that has been developed. They believe that its disadvantages may be successfully guarded against and that they are far outweighed by its advantages. Its most serious fault, in their opinion, is its tendency to separate the giver from his gift. They believe that to be permanently successful the community chest must remedy this tendency, perhaps through the co-operation of the council of social agencies. The suggestion is made that community chests ought to make more of the opportunity of conferring membership of various grades upon their contributors.

The organized campaign or drive is discussed in Part II. The need of year-round publicity is stressed, and pre-campaign publicity is discussed in detail. The setting up of the campaign organization is described. Chapter ix, which is

¹ *The Social Significance of the Inheritance Tax* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1925).

devoted to the drive itself, includes a detailed time schedule for the performance of the various activities of the month preceding the campaign and during the campaign itself. In chapter x the authors discuss the problem of financing social service activities in rural areas, including the problem of co-ordinating the efforts of rival communities.

The third part of the book, on "The Mail Campaign," is limited mainly to appeals designed to secure new contributions rather than renewals. The planning of mail appeals, including the preparation of letters and illustrated pamphlets, is discussed in detail with various instances of current practice cited or reproduced. The book concludes with discussions of the preparation of follow-up letters and of the subject of the frequency of appeals.

The volume is dedicated to James E. West, and many of the examples cited in the book are drawn from the experience of the Boy Scout organization. Many instances are also drawn from the experience of case work and other agencies. The foreword is by Mortimer Schiff, whose only point of disagreement with the writers is with regard to the community chest. He questions "whether in the long run it will prove beneficial and constructive." The Appendix contains a list of community chests in the United States and Canada and analyses compiled by the American Association for Community Organization of contributions to chests according to the size of gifts.

Social service executives cannot fail to be grateful for the appearance of this book in a field which has as yet received little detailed attention in print. The title, however, is broader than the contents warrant. Such fundamental forms of income as self-support and endowment income (not to mention governmental support of private agencies) are not discussed. The subject of accounting receives little attention, but such an exclusion is legitimate. Part I is of an introductory and general nature, except for chapter iv, which contains a more adequate presentation than has been available of the subject of the technique of budgeting the income and expenditures of the individual agency. The chief value of the book is to be found in the detailed discussion of the drive and of the mail campaign in Parts II and III. In particular, the chapter on the drive in rural areas is a valuable contribution on a subject little written about, and on which the authors write from the background of considerable study.

W. W. B.

Thirty Years in the Public Service. By ROSE E. SQUIRE. With an Introduction by SIR EDWARD TROUP. London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1927. Pp. 238. 10s. 6d.

The period of thirty-three years covered by the author's experience and recorded in this volume is that between 1893, when the first lady inspectors of workshops were appointed in Great Britain, and 1926, when the author reached the age of retirement in the British Civil Service and reluctantly laid down the

task she had carried through so ably and so sympathetically. In 1893 Miss Squire was first appointed an inspector by the Kensington Vestry, then the local authority under which certain sanitary requirements were enforced under the Factory and Public Health Acts passed in 1891. Three years later, she was appointed inspector under the Home Office, the central authority under which the factory acts were and are administered; and in 1926 she retired from a position as principal in the administrative side of the Home Office, a position which no woman had held before. Her record therefore is one of continuous pioneering in the field of women's professional employment and in the field of industrial betterment.

The so-called factory acts find their origins in the legislation of the early years of the nineteenth century. They were intended to protect: first, the pauper apprentices (1801); then the "free" children and young persons whose parents were unable and often unwilling to protect them against the exploitation of the new factory conditions (1819 and 1833); and then the women whose work in connection with the textile industry had taken them out of their homes, where the conditions of their work could be known only to their own families, into the factories, where the conditions of interminable hours, incredible speeding, with indescribably insanitary surroundings, could be observed and brought under control. The act of 1833 had introduced into factory legislation two new principles: (1) that of inspection rather than visitation and (2) that of administration by the central rather than by local authority. By 1853 the exclusion of children under nine (with certain exceptions), the distinction between "children" and young persons, the ten-hour day for women and young persons, and the principle of the "normal day" had been embodied in the various laws; and between that date and 1893 the development was largely one of extending the terms of the acts to other than textile industries.

During the period covered by this book the development follows three main lines: (1) administrative, as the experiences of the inspectors are embodied in more efficient administrative organization; (2) legislative, as nine factory acts were passed during the period, beside thirty-two codes of regulations for dangerous trades alone; and (3) interdepartmental co-operation, especially during the war.

Miss Squire was a part of all of this, and the record is one of courageous, generous, and highly intelligent pioneering. She was always for the "under dog"; and her experience confirms a conclusion at which Booker Washington arrived, after observing the industrial and social and political conditions in various European countries, that the "under dog" or the "man at the bottom" was generally a woman worker.

There were, at first, questions as to the minimum requirements for health generally (chap. iii)—sanitation, cleanliness, dressmakers' workrooms far too cold, spinning-rooms in textile mills far too hot, and so forth. There were in that time terrible questions of occupational disease which have now been wholly done away with. The peculiar effect of lead on women and girl workers, the

hideous consequences of the manufacture of matches in which white phosphorus was used, the fight for protection against the anthrax infection, the dangers in the tinsplate manufacture in South Wales, which used women and girls, are engraved in her memory.

The evils of "truck" payments (chap. vii) and of the old system of "fines and deductions" (chap. vii) are described in vivid terms, as is the bondage of glove workers in Somerset, who were paid in gloves for which they had to find a market; of fishermen's wives in Cornwall, who knit jerseys and were paid in jerseys; or of the Irish workers who were paid not in coin of the realm but in "tea that was not tea" and sugar or other goods at values fixed wholly by the employer. The story of the gallant expedition which uncovered these evils is well worth the reading. The system of using fines and deductions as methods of discipline was lacking in every principle of fair play, and there was no relation between the "crime" and the punishment. Wages were reduced for tardiness by amounts far beyond any cost to the employer, exemplary damages collected without judge or jury, and fines were imposed for damages to work many times the value of the article damaged. Miss Squire recalls again in her vivid narrative the legal encounters in which the lady inspectors bore a noble part.

The student of government will be especially interested in questions concerning the professional status of the inspector, the relation of general to specialized inspection, the necessity for women inspectors, and the principles of sound organization of such a service (chap. ix).

But the writer's experience was not restricted to the administration of the factory acts under the Home Office. She was borrowed in 1906 by the Royal Commission on the Poor Laws, and with Mr. Steel Maitland made a report on "The Relation of Industrial and Sanitary Conditions to Pauperism."

She was also called on to contribute to the work of the Committee on Health of Munitions Workers, set up early in the war, with Sir George Newman as chairman, and the resulting welfare organization under the Ministry of Munitions (chap. xi).

Miss Squire also served on the committee on post-war training schemes (chap. xii) intended to mitigate the hardships of demobilization for women wage-earners to whom the peace brought not only unemployment but unemployability, since all their industrial capacities had been adjusted to the war-time demands.

The American reader will be interested in the contrast between a national system under which a highly technical and professional problem is attacked by a single administrative agency, and the situation in the United States, in which the same difficult problems and administration must be attacked separately in each of the forty-eight states.

Another subject of very great interest is the effect on administrative effectiveness of allowing the inspector to prosecute her own violations. The necessity of obtaining adequate evidence sharpens the perceptions in observation and in obtaining corroborating testimony. The inspector who has labored to secure

this testimony deplores the waste when conviction and consequent improved conditions of employment do not result from the trouble she has taken. Not the least thrilling episodes in this narrative are the controversies when the violators have been brought to the bar of justice.

S. P. B.

Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain, 1884-1924. By JOSEPH CLAYTON. London: Faber & Gwyer, 1926. Pp. 247. 12s. 6d.

The title of this volume is to an extraordinary degree misleading. It expresses the wish that is obviously father to the thought of the writer, rather than the facts as they exist.

In his preface the author states at the outset: "This is a short history, not of the modern labour movement in Great Britain (which has many historians), but of the movement directed to the establishment of Socialism." And he adds, "It is in no sense a volume of personal reminiscences." But it is in truth little else! This is unconsciously revealed by the Index, which consists solely of names of persons and publications. The English Co-operative movement, an exceedingly important element in the evolution of Socialism, does not appear even in the Index.

It is an old joke that every transitional step toward Socialism the world over is derided and opposed by reactionaries as socialist, anarchist, communist (or bolshevik), until it is accomplished and found useful, after which it is treated as democratic or as an item in the long program of social reform. And this was true long before 1884.

Throughout his volume of lively and readable narrative, Mr. Clayton applies this shifty method to Socialists, their organizations, and their achievements during the period of forty years from 1884 to 1924. Perhaps the boldest example thereof is his summing up (pp. 230-31) as follows:

What if the Socialist movement has spent its forces and passed? It was a brave adventure—and all things of human device must pass.

"The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherits shall dissolve,
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on."

Perhaps it is not quite true to say that the insubstantial pageant of Socialism left not a rack behind. In two directions at least the positive and persistent work of Socialists has been effectual. Children no longer starve daily in the elementary schools, as they did forty years ago; and the unemployed workman is no longer left to perish of hunger . . . not very much, perhaps, as the fruit of forty years these two items; and yet, if there is one child less hungry today in the elementary schools, or one unemployed workman less tortured by famine and despair, the Socialist movement was not in vain.

In an earlier chapter there occur a pair of dicta, worthy companions of these two. First the author sets up this statement: "Modern Socialism is Marx, and Marx is modern Socialism. There is no other foundation" (p. 8).

This in 1926 in England, where from 1884 to the present day every important Socialist leader except H. M. Hyndman has asserted that, however much the thought of Socialists may have been shot through with the teachings of Marx, the characteristic of the English Socialist movement as distinguished from the Continental has been its slow evolution from the teachings of Adam Smith, and more especially from those of Ricardo!

The second dictum follows:

By Socialism a very definite thing was meant. It was not for social reform Morris and Hyndman, Joynes and Salt, Edward Carpenter and Belfort Bax, Bernard Shaw and John Burns were prepared to turn the world upside down in 1884. Nothing less than a real social revolution was the objective; a revolution which was held to be inevitable and at hand, and awaited but the conviction of the working class to be accomplished. . . . The only thing to be done was to persuade the mass of the people to become Socialists. But the mass of people were not to be so persuaded and are still unconverted. Hence the history of the forty years—1884-1924—is a history of disillusionment; of the abandonment of Socialism.

True it is that capitalism has shown unforeseen capacity in England, as elsewhere, to maintain itself, to prolong its existence by conceding extensions of democracy, by widened public control in the service of the workers, as in the medical and nursing professions socialized through compulsory insurance of the wage-earners' health, accidents, old age, and unemployment.

It seems fair to say that in this case the author cannot see the forest for the trees. The political change from aristocracy to democracy occupied in Great Britain a century, and is still incomplete while women vote only after they are thirty years old and are still ineligible to sit in the House of Lords. It is England's good fortune that the changes in her constitution have historically and traditionally come about in this gradual manner, without political upheavals such as gave France three republics, two empires, and a kingdom in that same century. It is a bold assertion which Mr. Clayton is very far from supporting with facts, that because there has been no cataclysm Socialism is dead in England in 1926.

FLORENCE KELLEY

NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE
NEW YORK CITY

An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work. By HOWARD W. ODUM.
Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press,
1926. Pp. xi+178. \$1.50.

North Carolina is one of the states which have attacked the problem of county reorganization, especially for child care and probation, and have developed a state-wide plan for such reorganization (*U. S. Children's Bureau Publi-*

ation No. 169, p. 8). The legislation on which this is based dates from 1917 and provides for the appointment, by the state board of charities and public welfare, of county boards of charities and public welfare, advisory and unpaid, to assist the state board. The Act also provides for the election in each county, by the county board of education and the county board of commissions, of a county superintendent of public welfare, whose appointment must be ratified by the state board. His duties are those of school attendance officer; the administration of poor relief; the promotion of recreation; the supervision of paroled prisoners and of other persons paroled from state institutions; and the oversight of dependent and delinquent children (under a state-wide juvenile court law), and making inquiries into causes of distress. The state board has stimulated county organization, and especially the selection of well-qualified superintendents; and on August 25, 1927, there were fifty-one whole-time superintendents, seven of whom have been given assistants, and eight part-time superintendents, while in the remaining forty-one counties the superintendents of public instruction served also as welfare officials.

The development has been greatly fostered by the University of North Carolina, where, in co-operation with the state board, courses of training have been developed and especially summer training courses for superintendents. The development of such an educational program requires textbooks and other facilities for teaching and discussion; and Professor Howard W. Odum has been unwearying in his efforts, through the publication of the *Journal of Social Forces*, the compilation of studies in the field, and the preparation of textbooks, to provide these facilities. This particular volume might in fact be entitled a "Manual for Home Study in Social Service and Public Welfare," for its purpose is the supply of facilities making possible the continuation of ordered and progressive study in this field by the county superintendents between the summer sessions.

The book contains ten chapters devoted to: "Public Welfare and Social Work," "The Equipment of the Social Worker," "General Modern Social Problems and Funds," "Problems of Social Deficiency and Waste," "Child Welfare," "Human Factors in Industry and Agriculture," "Community Organization and Public Welfare," "North Carolina as a Composite Field of Social Work and Public Welfare," "The City," and a chapter devoted to "Assignments." The discussion, while brief, is very general and very comprehensive, and there is a wide range of subject and of reference. There are 393 questions to be answered, 41 "questions for study and illustration," while in the last chapter there are 32 "assignments."

Together with this volume are to be used Professor Odum's compilation of papers entitled *Systems of Public Welfare*, and a volume entitled the *Science of Public Welfare* is announced as in preparation by Dr. Robert W. Kelso, formerly director of the Massachusetts Department of Public Welfare.

S. P. B.

Negro Illegitimacy in New York City. ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," No. 277). By RUTH REED. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926. Pp. 136. \$2.25.

The problem of illegitimacy has been attacked from various angles without analyzing the relation of race to its incidence and solution. The title of this monograph suggests that such an analysis has been made. We find, however, that no deductions of this nature were possible because of lack of comparable data pertaining to illegitimacy among whites and to that among Negroes who have been able to make their own adjustments.

This monograph is, then, only a detailed study of a group of 500 cases of unmarried mothers who applied to social agencies in New York City for assistance in making economic and social readjustments. Of these unmarried mothers, 76 per cent were under twenty-five years of age. Seventy-four per cent of them had come from outside New York State, 34.7 per cent being foreign-born, chiefly in the West Indies. The moral hazards of the young Negro girl employed as a servant are indicated by the fact that 85 per cent of these mothers were engaged in domestic service before the birth of the illegitimate child. The long hours, loneliness, and monotonous work are factors contributing to such deviation from social standards.

Closely related to the mother's occupation is her relationship to the father of her child. In 144 instances, the father was a "chance acquaintance" of the mother. The ice man or other delivery man was often designated as the father. In many instances the girls gave loneliness as the reason for their entertaining the advances of these men. Another reason advanced was that "men were hard to get and keep." The author points out the disproportionate number of women among the Negro population in New York City. In 1920 there were 99.2 males to every 100 females in the total Negro population of the United States, while the ratio in the Negro population of New York City was 90.3 males to every 100 females. This disproportion between the numbers of the sexes, coupled with the fact that the young Negro girl is faced with unfavorable economic and social conditions, favors irregular sex relations.

Relatively little was learned concerning the fathers of the children included in this study. Frequently the girl knew little concerning the man, not even his name. Moreover, the social agencies are probably not always careful to record these items. The author points out that the chief reasons for securing information about the father are to establish paternity and to secure support for the child. When the conduct of the mother precludes the possibility of accomplishing either of these ends, social workers are less zealous about completing the record. Of the 231 fathers whose marital condition was reported, 153 were single, 61 married, 8 widowed, and 9 divorced. This information has an important bearing on the problem, because the father's legal marriage to another woman precludes marriage to the mother of the child. In the second place, a judge is

not likely to exact support for an illegitimate child from the married man with legitimate children dependent upon him for support.

There is scanty information concerning the readjustment of the mother after the birth of her child. One hundred forty-eight mothers, the largest single group, kept their children with them. In only seven cases was there a complete separation of mother and child. This is due in part to the fact that institutional care is difficult to secure for the colored child, so the family is forced to assume responsibility for his care. From this necessity has developed a more rational and tolerant attitude toward the child born out of wedlock and a greater willingness to accept him as a member of his mother's family. This does not, however, indicate that the problem of the Negro unmarried mother is fundamentally different from that of the white unmarried mother. In the words of the author: "There is no conclusive evidence that Negro women are meeting their problems of family life in any way which may be regarded as characteristically racial."

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

ELINOR NIMS

The Social Worker in a Hospital Ward. By ELSIE WULKOP. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926. Pp. 357. \$3.00.

A new form of presenting medical social case material will be found in Miss Wulkop's book. Thirty-seven cases are given, all from the Massachusetts General Hospital, selected from the diagnostic groups: heart disease, tuberculosis, malignancy, and a miscellaneous group which includes pneumonia, arthritis, tonsillitis, etc. A medical social problem is given for each case, followed by a summary of the socially significant medical data pertaining to the patient and his family. This is followed by a brief statement of therapeutic assets, both medical and social. A narrative statement, giving the processes, treatment, and results in a summarized chronological order, completes the case presentation.

This form of case analysis should be of especial interest to hospital social workers, since it adds a new and much-needed bit of valuable case material to the rather meager supply now available. The statement of the medical social problem is a definite effort to determine upon a social diagnosis. The examples given may perhaps be criticized as being too general. Certainly they do not entirely and adequately state the problem in definite and perhaps sufficiently technical terms. The form of paralleling the summaries of medical and social data is a very suggestive one, and may well lead to further efforts of this type of case presentation and perhaps case writing.

The narrative is delightfully written and shows evidence of good case work in a well-organized and socially resourceful community. The selection of the case material has been carefully made and represents a very fine cross-section of the medical social problems found daily in a hospital ward.

Miss Wulkop's comments are interesting, but lack a critical analysis of the cases presented, which would be valuable addition for social workers. Dr. Cabot's statements are frank and in many cases very helpful in the understanding of certain limitations which every hospital social worker must be taught to recognize.

HELEN L. BECKLEY

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORKERS
CHICAGO

Soziale Diagnose (Die Wohlfahrtspflege in Einzeldarstellungen, Dritter Band). Von ALICE SALOMON. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1926. Pp. iv+66. M. 4.80.

The author was stimulated to write this volume after her visit to America, which offered her an opportunity to acquaint herself with schools of social work and with American publications concerning welfare work. In this volume are translations of complete sections taken from the following books: Mary E. Richmond, *Social Diagnosis*; Karl de Schweinitz, *The Art of Helping People Out of Trouble*; and an unpublished address by Porter Lee. The title is said to be taken from Miss Richmond's book. The purpose of the book Dr. Salomon explains as follows:

A people which has been cut off from the rest of the world for almost ten years does well to examine without prejudice what it can learn from others. There is competition not only in the economic life of nations, but in the intellectual and social life as well.

With the development of numerous schools of welfare work and the introduction of instruction in social work in other educational institutions of Germany a thorough search into methods of charitable care becomes urgent. It is, however, difficult to explain why in all these schools no far-reaching effort is made to help students understand methods.

In welfare work in general much more emphasis has been laid in Germany upon social legislation than upon improving social service methods. The book, therefore, seems especially suggestive and helpful at this time to German social workers.

The discussion falls under two main divisions, "Social Diagnosis," and "Theories of Social Service." The greater part is devoted to the former subject, including a discussion of the development of social service work in general, an analysis of what is embodied in a "social diagnosis," a presentation of twelve steps included in the technique of a diagnosis, and a comparison of social and biological science. The second and briefer division is a psychological discussion of personality and approach to personality entitled "The Art of Living and the Art of Helping." Finally, as a part of this second division a brief analysis is made of the function of social service.

Soziale Diagnose affords interesting reading to the American student. The reader who is acquainted with sources which stimulated the writer will recognize

familiar ideas and passages. The book has, however, for them a special value in enabling them to see an application of these ideas to problems not essentially unlike those in America yet different because they are in a different setting. It shows how various institutions function in Germany and the effect this has on the choice of sources in social investigation, and presents a picture of the working relationship of social agencies in Germany, including the work of the Social Service Exchange (Central Bureau) in Germany as a means of co-ordination.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

FRANCELLA STUENKEL

Crime and the Criminal. By PHILIP A. PARSONS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. Pp. xvi+387.

When a new book of a general nature appears in a field already well supplied with admirable general manuals, an explanation seems in order. In the present case the explanation is to be found in the author's desire to prepare a treatise that will interest the general, uninformed or misinformed public, and at the same time be adapted to classroom use. As Dr. Parsons puts it: "The public needs a 'first book on crime' which will convey much needed information and create an appetite for more."

It is, however, a difficult task to meet in a single volume the needs of college students and those of the general reader. Although Dr. Parsons has given us a carefully prepared summary of the principal theories, past and present, concerning the causes of criminality and the treatment of criminals, along with a sound statement of the newer penological and criminological philosophy, students in search of an up-to-date, general treatment of the problems of crime and the criminal are likely to turn back again to Gillin's *Criminology and Penology* or to Sutherland's *Criminology*.

As for its appeal to the general reader, the literary style of the present volume is rather too academic for wide popularity. The liberal footnotes and references are helpful to the student, but are likely to seem a bit formidable to the person outside college and university circles. In attempting to present to the public knowledge which has been the property of a relatively small group, the writer is faced with the necessity of abandoning to some extent the methods of the scholar. He must turn essayist and assume responsibility for the ideas and opinions he expresses. Above all, his style must be free and forceful and must possess a certain vividness and dramatic quality that seem to be lacking in the present work.

If the "audience" whom the author had in mind when he wrote the book do read it, they will find in its pages much of enlightenment concerning the historical and theoretical backgrounds of the practices now in vogue in dealing with criminals, as well as a great deal of valuable criticism of those practices and of progressive suggestion for the future.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EARL D. MYERS

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

✓ *Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, a State-wide Policy.* By EMIL FRANKEL. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Welfare, Bulletin 21, 1925. Pp. 149.

The Cost of American Almshouses. By E. M. STEWART. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 386. Washington, 1925. Pp. 54. \$0.10.

The American poor laws, like their English progenitors, are things of shreds and patches. In the older states, like Pennsylvania, the first provision for the poor was made by provincial laws, which transplanted the English system of "indoor" and "outdoor" relief. The old laws have been modified from time to time, but no fresh start is ever made with a completely new and modern system; mothers'-aid laws and old-age pension laws may supplement the old system, but the system itself remains substantially unchanged. Dr. Frankel's interesting report presents a picture of the old system as it exists today in Pennsylvania.

The first fifty pages of the report deal with the poorhouse, and there is a particularly interesting section on "The Almshouse as a Farming Proposition." Historically, in Pennsylvania, as in other states, it was assumed that able-bodied inmates would be cared for in the poorhouse; and that typical American institution, the American "poor farm," was established with a farmer as superintendent in the old days when land was cheap.

The eighty-six almshouse poor districts in Pennsylvania reported owning 17,300 acres of land, of which less than 60 per cent was under cultivation in 1923. The farming expenses amounted to \$361,475, and, if all wages of farm labor had been included, probably would have totaled \$500,000.

Poor farms for which fairly reliable figures were available reported total farming expenditures of \$230,120 and a value of produce of \$422,100; that is, the farm expense constituted 55 per cent of the total value of produce.

For some poor farms the farm expenditures were as low as 6 per cent of the value of products. For others the farm expenditures far exceeded the value of the produce obtained. One 500-acre county farm reported a farm expenditure of \$56,300 and a value of produce amounting to only \$39,000; that is, the farming costs were one and one-half times greater than the yield. One 200-acre farm reported expenses representing 177 per cent of the value of the produce.

The report notes that the man who is a good farmer is rarely at the same time a good institutional head, and there are other reasons for throwing overboard the old "poor farm" system.

The old and decrepit people in the almshouses of today cannot do hard field

labor, and consequently the farm work must be done largely by paid employees. The superintendent, in his dual position of supervisor of the home and caretaker of the farm, in the nature of things is obliged to give most of his time to overseeing the farm operations if he does not assist physically. During certain portions of the year the superintendent must devote almost his entire time to farming operations.

The report concludes "that there should be farming of course, on a small scale, not with the aim of growing money crops primarily, but to raise adequate quantities of foodstuffs which best suit the needs of the inmates and which can be produced at the home better than purchased outside. Small-scale farming has this advantage, also, that the help of the more able-bodied inmates can be used profitably. The work will constitute at the same time an aid in occupational therapeutics."

In spite of the long struggle to prevent American children from being contaminated by poorhouse life, the report shows that at the end of the year 1923 about 200 children were maintained in the almshouses, and during 1923 about 400 children were admitted. Of the 200 children in the almshouse, over 56 per cent were classed as "sound in body and mind," leaving a minority of 44 per cent "not sound in body and mind."

The Department of Public Welfare reports that every effort is being made to enforce the law, which provides that no child between the ages of two and sixteen shall remain in the almshouse longer than sixty days, unless the child is "an unteachable idiot, an epileptic, or otherwise so disabled or deformed as to render it incapable of labor or service." But the Department does not want merely to enforce the law, but aims to co-operate with the poor-relief officials in helping them to solve their problems in connection with the proper placement of children.

The report emphasizes once more the changes that have occurred in the last hundred years in the character of the almshouse population and the inadequacy of the old system to meet the new problems that have arisen.

The report gives an equally interesting picture of the actual administration of outdoor relief in one of the largest American states.

The farcical "investigations" leading to large numbers of persons on the books who do not need relief, and the granting of doles are characteristic.

The limiting of grants to small amounts is attributed partly to the fact that the poor-director is not always fully convinced that the family is really "deserving." In order to deter the "unworthy" from applying, many poor districts have full names and addresses of all recipients of relief printed and posted in conspicuous places, and some publish lists in local newspapers. The average poor-director feels that it might be embarrassing to poor people to have their names published in the newspapers, and that they will try to avoid public disgrace by withdrawing their claims upon public relief. Some poor-directors think that "worthy people would not mind having their names published, while publication of names would show up the unworthy, and those who were really proud would refuse to apply."

The report of the United States Bureau of Labor shows that in a single year approximately \$25,000,000 is allocated from the public funds to the maintenance of our American poorhouses. The total maintenance cost is something like three millions more, this additional amount representing income derived from the sale of farm produce.

The fact that organized social work has been able to do so little to modernize the poor-law services is greatly to be deplored. It is probably true that by an efficient administration of public relief agencies enough money could be saved annually to finance most of the private relief societies that are now functioning.

✓ *Census of Population of the Irish Free State: Preliminary Report.* Dublin: S. O. Office, 1926. Pp. 28.

The present report presents the first published results of the long-delayed Irish census. In 1921, the year for the taking of the decennial census for the United Kingdom, the disturbed condition of Ireland made it impossible to extend the population enumeration to that country. The present report, therefore, is the first since 1911, and thus covers fifteen years instead of the usual ten.

This new census, taken under the auspices of the Department of Industry and Commerce of the Irish Free State, shows some interesting population changes: First, the population of all Ireland decreased between the two census periods, April 2, 1911—April 18, 1926, from 4,390,219 to 4,229,124—a decrease of 3.7 per cent. Second, the Irish Free State population decreased from 3,139,688 to 2,972,802—a decrease of 5.3 per cent. Third, Northern Ireland increased from 1,250,531 to 1,256,322—an increase of one-half of 1 per cent.

To get a clear picture of population trends in Ireland, these rates of decrease and increase must be compared with those of other countries. Table I, which has been compiled from the Irish census, shows rates of change in the population of the most important countries of Europe, in the United States, and in some of the overseas dominions of the British commonwealth of nations.

These returns indicate that the rate of decline in the population of Ireland is exceeded only in France, and that the tendency toward a diminishing population, which has been characteristic of Ireland since the middle of the last century, has not yet reached its end. As the census report says, "Since the Famine, Ireland has always had an incurable prominence in international demographic statistics."

Table II shows the changes in the population of Ireland, the Irish Free State, and Northern Ireland during the last century.

At each of the ten census enumerations the population of Southern Ireland, now the Irish Free State, has shown a greater rate of change than that of Northern Ireland. In the twenty years 1841-61 the population of the Irish Free State decreased by 32.8 per cent, whereas the population of Northern Ireland decreased 15.3 per cent in the same period. In the following sixty-five years the

population of the Irish Free State decreased by 32.5 per cent, while the population of Northern Ireland decreased by only 10 per cent. In 1841 Northern

TABLE I

Country	Census Interval	Census Population at Later Date	Average* Annual Increase per Thousand Population	Persons per Square Mile
France	1911-21	39,209,518	- 5.6	184
Irish Free State	1911-26	2,972,802	- 3.7	112
Austria	1910-23	6,526,661	- 1.4	202
Belgium	1910-20	7,465,782	- 0.2	635
Czecho-Slovakia	1911-20	13,611,349	0.1	251
Northern Ireland	1911-26	1,256,322	0.5	240
Scotland	1911-21	4,882,497	2.5	161
Germany	1910-19	59,852,682†	2.7†	328†
Switzerland	1910-20	3,880,320	3.3	243
Hungary	1910-20	7,980,143	4.8	222
England and Wales	1911-21	37,886,699	4.9	649
Sweden	1910-20	5,904,489	6.7	34
Italy	1911-21	37,385,285‡	7.6‡	338‡
Norway	1910-20	2,649,775	10.3	21
Denmark	1911-21	3,267,831	11.2	197
United States of America	1910-20	105,710,620	14.0	36
Netherlands	1909-20	6,865,314	14.5	545
Canada	1911-21	8,788,483	20.0	2
Australia	1911-21	5,435,734	20.1	2

* Geometric average.

† Including the Saar Territories.

‡ Pre-war area.

TABLE II

YEAR	ALL IRELAND (PERSONS)	IRISH FREE STATE		NORTHERN IRELAND	
		Persons	Intercensal Change (Percentage)	Persons	Intercensal Change (Percentage)
1821	6,801,827	5,421,376	.....	1,380,451	.....
1831	7,767,401	6,193,397	+14.2	1,574,004	+14.0
1841	8,196,597	6,547,652	+5.7	1,648,945	+4.8
1851	8,574,278	5,131,701	-21.6	1,442,517	-12.6
1861	5,798,564	4,402,111	-14.2	1,396,453	-3.2
1871	5,412,377	4,053,187	-7.9	1,359,190	-2.7
1881	5,174,836	3,870,020	-4.5	1,304,816	-4.0
1891	4,704,750	3,468,604	-10.4	1,236,056	-5.3
1901	4,458,775	3,221,823	-7.1	1,236,952	+0.1
1911	4,390,219	3,139,688	-2.5	1,250,531	+1.1
1926	4,229,124	2,972,802	-5.3	1,256,322	+0.5

Ireland included only 20.1 per cent of the population of Ireland; now the figure is 29.7 per cent.

With reference to the causes of the continuing decrease in population,

attention is particularly called to the continued decline of the birth-rate and to the continued ebb of the tide of emigration. To Americans, the data compiled on the last point are of special interest. From various census returns, the Irish statisticians compute that:

In 1920-21 there were 1,037,234 Irish-born persons living in the United States, 367,747 living in England and Wales, 159,020 in Scotland, 105,033 in Australia, 93,301 in Canada, 34,419 in New Zealand, 12,289 in the Union of South Africa, and 8,414 in India. In all these countries there resided, therefore, 1,817,457 persons born in Ireland, or no less than 43.0 per cent of the population of Ireland in 1926, a proportion which makes this country absolutely unique amongst the countries of the world. This exiled population must in itself attract a large number of emigrants, relatives and friends of the exiles, every year no matter how prosperous conditions are in this country.

Table III shows the number of persons, natives of European countries, living overseas in the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Union of

TABLE III

Country of Birth	Number Living Overseas* (About Year 1921)	As Percentage of the Population of Country of Birth
Ireland	1,290,690	30.5
Norway	302,405	14.8
Scotland	689,814	14.1
Sweden	660,521	11.2
Austria	634,825	9.7
Lithuania	135,076	6.7
England and Wales	2,402,435	6.3
Denmark	205,488	6.3
Hungary	495,442	5.1
Finland	163,652	4.9
Poland	1,208,779	4.4
Italy	1,655,958	4.3
Greece	184,938	3.3
Switzerland	125,066	3.2
Germany	1,744,318	2.9
Czecho-Slovakia	307,142	2.7
Netherlands	144,438	2.1
Russia	1,532,658	1.5
Jugo-Slavia	172,973	1.4
Portugal	70,646	1.2
Belgium	77,491	1.0
Roumania	125,880	0.7
France	178,877	0.5
Spain	50,676	0.2*

* If the numbers of Italians, Spaniards, and Portuguese (to cite the nationalities principally affected) in Argentina and Brazil be added to the numbers shown in the above table, Italy's percentage becomes 8.4; Spain's, 5.2; and Portugal's, 8.6. The Irish-born populations of these countries are not available.

South Africa, and India about the year 1921. It also shows the numbers of exiles of the European countries named as proportions of the populations of the mother-countries. It will also be of special interest in America, since so large a proportion of this overseas population belongs to the United States.

Commenting on this table, the Irish census says:

It will be seen that Ireland's proportion of exiles is extremely high—more than twice as great as Norway's, her closest attendant. Inter-European migration has been excluded from the above table [Table III], but if it were taken into account there is no doubt that the statistics would be even more telling, as 526,767 persons born in Ireland were living in Great Britain in 1921. The percentage of Danes living in the countries referred to, which are all English-speaking countries, though small (6.3 per cent) is as high as the percentage from England and Wales.

So far only the Irish-born populations of the overseas countries have been considered. In the United States in 1920 there resided 4,136,395 persons of Irish origin (both of whose parents were Irish-born or one of whose parents was Irish-born and the other born in the United States), and 1,107,817 persons of Irish origin in Canada in 1921. (Origin in Canada is traced entirely through the father.)

An interesting article in the *Irish Statesman* (September 4, 1926), in discussing the census report, notes that while it is "admirably clear in its statement of facts [it] does not give us much help in formulating any policy which might prevent us from occupying the abnormal position of having the highest rate of emigration on the planet." A process which has been going on for more than a century cannot be suddenly brought to an end, and the *Statesman* is right in saying, "The imagination of the young in Ireland has been excited for generations by stories of the New World, of the history-beating civilizations there being built up. It is for us to excite the Irish imagination about Ireland."

Perhaps the efforts of the Irish-Americans to secure a larger Irish quota has been a service of doubtful value to the new Irish government. The effort, first, to secure a separate quota for the Irish Free State in place of the original quota, which was for the "United Kingdom," and, second, to prevent the adoption of the "national origins" plan, will tend to promote the continuation of the emigration stream.

✓ *Seventh Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1925-26* (Cmd. 2724).

London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. Pp. 204. 3s. 6d.

The subjects dealt with in this report fall under the main heads of public health, local government and local finance, administration of the poor law, and national health insurance. A separate section is devoted to the subject of the Welsh board of health.

The work of the Ministry during the year was affected by several acts of Parliament: (1) The widows', orphans', and old-age contributory pensions bill, which became a law in August, 1925, came into effect as concerns pensions for widows with at least one child under fourteen whose husbands had died prior to January 4, 1926, and allowances for children under fourteen or under sixteen if still in school, and pensions for orphans whose parents died before that date. (2) The rating and valuation bill brought about changes in the collecting authorities and in the procedure for making and collecting rates, and transfers of certain obligations connected with the assessment of property will take place.

The total provision asked for the department for the year 1926-27 is £19,230,637. This total contains certain increases over the previous year for the treatment of tuberculosis, for maternity and child welfare, for the care of the blind, and decreases for the treatment of venereal diseases and for port sanitary authorities. Housing grants show an increase of £542,000; grants under the national health insurance are reduced owing to changes in the share of these services borne by the exchequer.

The average number of persons in receipt of relief in 1925-26 under the Poor Law showed an increase of 94,000, the total amounting to 1,207,000; the cost of outdoor relief during the year was £15,300,000, as compared with £13,000,000 the previous year.

During the year, 106,987 houses were completed with assistance from the state. Of these, over 44,000 were erected by local authorities and 62,769 by private enterprise. Besides these, over 66,000 were completed by private enterprise without state assistance.

The report of the medical officer of the department is published separately.

✓ *Report of the Committee on Education and Industry (England and Wales).*

First Part, 1926. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926.

Pp. 115. 1s. 6d.

✓ *The London Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment.* First Annual Report, 1924-25; Second Annual Report, 1925-26.

An Interdepartmental Committee on Education and Industry was appointed by the Minister of Labor and the President of the Board of Education "to inquire into and advise upon the public system of education in England and Wales in relation to the requirements of trade and industry, with particular reference to the adequacy of the arrangements for enabling young persons to enter into and retain suitable employment."

In Great Britain a child can leave school, not on his fourteenth birthday, but only at the end of the term during which he becomes fourteen, and as there are only four terms, careful arrangements can be, and are, made for the leaving. Before the end of every term, then, in London, for example, conferences for the purpose of advising the leaving children are arranged under the administration of the education committee by district organizers of the school care committees, at which there will be present one or more members of the care committees, the head teacher, some officer of the local Juvenile Advisory Council, and often someone interested in local juvenile organizations. The parents are invited, and boys and girls are interviewed individually (*London Advisory Council Report* [1924-25], p. 12). A form is made up, giving the class, or standard, completed by the child, the opinion of the school medical officer, the child's school record, facts about the home, and the desired occupation. It must be understood that this "form" does not, however, take on the character of the

"age and school certificate," and does not therefore correspond to the working papers required by the great majority of our states before a child can be lawfully employed—a certificate which is now usually made out to the employer and returned by him to the certificating officer when the child changes his employment.

In 1909, when the national Labour Exchanges Act was passed, provision was especially made for the care of young persons, and in 1910 authority was given (under an Education, Choice of Employment Act) to the school authorities to advise young persons in their choice of work. This meant that there would be two sets of agencies for rendering the same service: one, the local office of the national authority, first the Board of Trade, later the Ministry of Labor; the other, the office of the local authority in education, which bore certain relations to the central education authority (the Board of Education); but not those making possible the same degree of control, and consequently the same uniformity. When the 1910 act was passed, possibility of friction was foreseen, but both the Board of Trade and the education authorities pledged the utmost co-operation, and these pledges have undoubtedly been carried out. The point is that probably the representatives of two authorities of such different purpose and with such different problems would find it impossible always to see eye to eye when issues arise which involve the demand for juvenile labor by industry and the supply of young workers to meet that demand.

Besides these acts, notice should be taken of the unemployment insurance acts, which include within their operation young workers between sixteen and eighteen, except those engaged in agriculture and in domestic service. These acts are of course administered by the labor exchanges, now known as employment bureaus.

That the reliance on the double authority of education and labor was unfortunate was brought out by an earlier investigation in 1921, undertaken to inquire into the difficulties of using the two sets of agencies. As a result it was recommended that the co-operative relations between the two should cease, and that if an education authority undertook to perform any of these services, it should be the only agency in the area and should administer the unemployment insurance as well.

A very considerable number of education authorities are carrying out such a program. They have thus been representing in certain ways locally both the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labor. This arrangement proved so unsatisfactory as to call for the appointment of the Committee on Education and Industry, who recommend that as to these services, while either agency may render the local service, the Ministry of Labor alone shall be nationally responsible.

The distressing fact brought out by this report is that after so long a period of effort and organization the employment bureaus and advisory committees place only about one in five of the children who go to work; nor, up to the present, has any device been worked out for knowing when these children are in or out of employment.

The committee falls back then on the plan so familiar in the administration of child labor laws in the United States, namely, the certification of the child to the employer. The "American practice" is described (p. 73) and discussed at some length, and is accepted as the most hopeful way out of the difficulty. The recommendations are contained in thirty-four paragraphs, which cover briefly the following points:

The exclusion of the Board of Education as a central authority from all share in the administration of the function either of advising young prospective workers or administering the unemployment insurance act, and the fixing of responsibility wholly on the Ministry of Labor. The Minister is, however, urged to leave the local education authorities, which undertake this work, as free as possible in their determination of policies, and to consider the advisability of setting up a national advisory council for juvenile employment, on which local education authorities should be strongly represented. The exercise of co-operative effort between "areas," between education and labor agencies, is urged, as is the encouragement of psychological tests in determining what are suitable jobs for prospective workers. Special provision for handicapped children; an increase in the body of industrial or occupational information to be made available to teachers, children, parents, and all interested persons; a better statistical basis for handling the young persons of these ages; the further study of the possible development and use of the unemployment center; the further consideration of the needs of young workers in agriculture and domestic service; and especially an inquiry into the problem of casual juvenile labor are all recommended. The recommendations center, perhaps, however, on the proposal (No. 28) that as soon as possible legislation be introduced establishing the "work certificate" long familiar to American workers.

It is disappointing, too, not to find in the report any vigorous declaration, not so much of the claim of these children to wider educational opportunity, but of the right of the nation to a more highly educated electorate. The retarded condition of an educational scheme providing gratuitously only to the fifteenth birthday would offer possible explanation of many difficulties with which England is confronted.

The Work of Child-Placing Agencies (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 171). Washington, D.C., 1927. Pp. 223. \$0.35.

Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 170). Washington, D.C., 1927. Pp. 129. \$0.20.

These two important publications from the United States Children's Bureau should be carefully studied by every member of a board of directors, every executive, every member of a staff of a child-caring institution or agency, and by every student of the problem of child care and of child welfare. Before 1909,

when President Roosevelt was host to a conference on the care of dependent children, in Washington, not only were dependent children too exclusively cared for in institutions, but the institution was too generally accepted as the suitable and appropriate place and method for their care. Since that conference issued the declaration that dependent children, like other children, had a right to home care, several interesting developments have taken place.

One of these has been in the direction of multiplying and strengthening agencies for placing of children in family homes, and especially a more extended reliance on boarding-homes for dependent children. The White House conference greatly strengthened the vigor and assurance with which appeals could be made, not only to benevolent individuals but to public authorities, for funds with which to provide foster-home care.

This has meant an increased sense of responsibility and also a greater pressure for the improved administration of these agencies. It has also meant a greater demand for helpful information, a pooling of experience, and a genuine seeking after the most hopeful and promising methods of work.

To meet this need, the federal Children's Bureau has assembled information with reference to the history, organization, and administration of ten "standard" private child-placing agencies. The agencies selected: "illustrate methods employed under different conditions in the New England, Middle Atlantic, Southern, and Middle Western states" (p. 1). Throughout the report, emphasis is laid on the better features of the work of each agency, though reference is made freely to poorer work when opportunity is offered for constructive criticism.

In other words, it is now possible for any interested person to learn what methods have been found successful and practicable by agencies whose work is widely respected, and in what way writers like those responsible for this study and its publication think improvements can be made.

The first part of this report includes the following points in the analysis of the work of each agency: (1) the history and form of organization, including in this the original purpose and present work, the managing board and its organization in committees, the staff, salaries, office equipment, and methods of financing; (2) the methods of work, including terms of acceptances, procedure prior to acceptance, formulation of the plan, method of finding foster homes, tempo-

¹ The Michigan Children's Aid and the Children's Home Society of Florida are state-wide agencies; the Children's Aid of Pennsylvania had for its territory the eastern half of the state; the St. Louis Children's Aid and the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia practically worked within city limits; the Society of St. Vincent de Paul of Detroit operated throughout the Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit, about twenty-nine counties, serving only Catholic children; the Jewish Home-Finding cared only for Jewish children in that city. Three agencies had their headquarters in Boston: the Boston Children's Aid, the Children's Mission to Children, and the New England Home for Little Wanderers. These operate under agreements in general dividing the New England field (see p. 1).

rary provisions for children awaiting placement, method of placing in foster homes; supervision and education of the foster home, contacts with the child's own family, policy with regard to adoptions, records, and statistics, methods of enlightening the public, and state supervision. This discussion, based on the study of the ten agencies, is followed by a description of each agency.

The second part of the report contains a discussion of "Health Supervision of Children Placed in Foster Homes," likewise based upon the study of ten agencies; eight are identical with agencies studied in Part I, but the Church Home Society of Massachusetts replaces the Boston Home for Little Wanderers, and the Detroit Children's Aid replaces the St. Vincent de Paul of Detroit (p. 178). This report covers the general program of health work, the routine health examinations, the routine mental examinations, provisions for corrective work and special treatment, health standards for foster homes, the health records, the cost of health work, methods of co-operating with community health agencies, and methods of co-ordinating health and social work.

The field of child-placing is thus carefully surveyed, and well-laid-out paths indicated to any interested worker.

In the field of institutional care, which is dealt with in Publication No. 170, an interesting development has taken place. In the period since the declaration of the White House conference, the institutions for dependent children have certainly not closed their doors. Those responsible for the conduct of institutions have, however, in many cases, subjected themselves to vigorous heart-searching, and a great effort has been made to place institutional service on a sound basis and to determine where the lines between the different kinds of care for different individuals or groups of children should be drawn.

In this publication the Children's Bureau has attempted to pool, as it were, the best thought on these subjects. Among those called by the Bureau to its aid, for example, were such recognized authorities in the field of child care as the executives of the departments of public welfare in Georgia, Pennsylvania, California, New York, and Ohio, the superintendents of four institutions, Mr. C. C. Carstens, of the Child Welfare League of America, Mr. Hastings H. Hart, of the Russell Sage Foundation, and Mr. Henry C. Wright, an expert on institutional organization.

The discussion is presented in fifteen chapters dealing successively with "The Institution as an Agency for Social Work," "Administration," "The Plant," "Buildings," "Admissions," "Physical Care," "Food and Clothing," "Mental Health," "Habit Formation," "Spiritual and Moral Training," "Education," "Recreation," "Discharge and After-Care," "Records and Statistics," and last, a list of references making it possible for the student of any problem to pursue the subject more exhaustively.

As has been said, no one interested in the subject of child welfare can in the future afford to be without the material in these two publications as a part of his "funded thought."

The County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child Caring and Protective Work (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 169). Washington, D.C., 1926. Pp. 25. \$0.05.

The development of county organization for child care and protection has occurred mainly within the past ten years. County-wide programs of social work, reaching children living in isolated rural districts as well as city children, are now organized in eighteen states. This report describes briefly the forms of organization and types of activities for the protection of children carried on in these states under the authority of special legislation or through the efforts of state agencies. It supplements the earlier report on the subject issued in 1922.

In many states the county is the unit for taxation, health and educational activities, and poor relief. It is therefore a convenient local unit for child care. The new county system has meant the unification, or at least the co-ordination, in the county of the work undertaken by the various public agencies for the care and protection of children. It should lead in the future to the development of broader programs of preventive work for the lessening of dependency and delinquency.

County programs in most instances have been stimulated and promoted by a state board or department of charities or welfare. The plan, as developed in a number of the states, permits adaptation of the program to local needs under state supervision, which has proved helpful in securing the appointment of executive officers qualified for the work, in furnishing advice and assistance, and in encouraging high standards of service.

It has been demonstrated that the cost of administration of county organization is more than compensated for by the saving in poor relief and other expenditures that had been administered wastefully under the old system. The more important savings which result from better care for individual dependent, defective, and delinquent children are, however, the real criteria of the value of making this service available to remote rural sections as well as to the cities.

✓ *The Health of the School Child* (Annual Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education, for the Year 1925). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. Pp. 169. 1s. 6d.

The reports of Sir George Newman, who has been for eighteen years the chief medical officer of the English Board of Education, the central authority for dealing with problems of elementary and secondary education in Great Britain, could well be taken as models by public authorities and by the executives of private agencies.

They fulfil the first requirement of an adequate report in that they set out the nature of the task and place the reader in possession of information

enabling him to enter sympathetically and with appreciation into the difficulties of the writer. The situation at the beginning of the period, the nature and volume of the work done, the underlying purpose of the work, the tests that should in all good faith be applied, the results obtained by such efforts at forming a judgment, the lines of development indicated by the experience, the program for the immediate and for the more remote future—these features are all found in this, as in the earlier reports from Sir George Newman's office.

The subject is, of course, of compelling interest. England has known, since the experiences of the South African War, that physical care was necessary for the children of her working classes if the national prestige was to be maintained and enhanced. School feeding, physical education, and medical inspection have, therefore, been accepted items in the educational program, and a situation like that in Illinois, when the legislators characterize the services of school nurses as "snooping" (*Chicago Tribune*, March 31, 1927), is, to English thought, incredible.

The report gives a view of the situation from a national point of view and describes briefly the entire school medical service, discussing (1) the health of entering children, (2) the medical and dental treatment provided, (3) the infective diseases, (4) the relation of the school building to health, (5) the education and training of the blind, (6) the mentally subnormal, (7) the provision of school meals, (8) the physical education, and the research now under way. Five appendixes supply the necessary statistical data, one of which (p. 154) gives interesting facts with reference to the prosecutions by local school authorities of parents who neglect their children and violate provisions of the school law requiring the attendance of children in condition to take advantage of the school program.

The report shows 1,140 school medical officers in Great Britain, of whom 828 are full-time officers, either under the school or in combined school and public health work. Of these, 241 are women. The services of 786 specialists and of 584 dentists are used, and the nursing service equals the full time of 1,745 nurses, beside part-time services of district nurses which cannot be estimated.

Of the 5,000,000 children in average attendance, about one-third are subjected to routine examination, and there were 821,000 inspections of special cases. Of these, 428,000, beside those needing cleansing treatment or dental care, were found to require treatment. The children examined are those entering, those leaving, and the intermediate group.

Beside the general discussion of the work of the year, Sir George Newman asks what evidence there is of improvement in the health conditions

of the children, and is concerned to find no great improvement in the physical state of the entering children. He has presented data on this subject in earlier reports (1913, 1918, 1922), and calls attention to the causes of ailments in the entering children. These are (1) faulty nutrition, (2) infective processes, (3) unhealthy domestic surroundings, (4) the stresses and strains of life.

The examination of the entrants, which partakes of the nature both of a routine and of a special examination, shows that certain gross forms of disease, especially those connected with lack of public sanitation and with poor hygiene, are disappearing, but other less obvious but no less important types and degrees of disease persist. The figures seem to show that "broadly speaking, there is little evidence of substantial improvement." There is some improvement as measured by height and weight figures, and the general physique of young children is slightly better than in the years just prior to the war. The medical facts indicate that these diseases and defects represent in large measure a failure wisely to provide nurture for the earlier years of infancy. Various schemes, designed to make good this deficiency, are described, and special notice is taken of the possible services of the nursery school. Especially Sir George Newman values the social work "done in securing the co-operation of parents and in arousing the interest of young parents towards the attainment of a more healthful way of life" (p. 37). The discussion of the relation of the medical officer under the local education authorities to the certifying surgeon under the factory acts has interest always for those interested in problems of administration, and the topics listed as now being made the subject of investigation (p. 125) are varied and comprehensive.

Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in Women and Children, Part I. Geneva: League of Nations, 1927 (C.52. M.52. 1927. IV. C.T.F.E./Experts/55).¹

At the meeting of the Forty-fourth Session of the Council of the League of Nations in March of this year, on motion of Sir Austen Chamberlain, the publication of Part I of this Report was authorized. Part II, which, according to the minutes of the Council, "deals with countries individually," is being sent "confidentially to the various governments to

¹ League Reports may be purchased from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

give them an opportunity to make such observations as they may desire," these observations to be subsequently annexed to Part II of the Report.

The investigation on which this report is based grew out of a resolution offered by Grace Abbott, the American member of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children at the meeting of the Committee held in Geneva in 1923. Various recommendations for international agreement as to the control of the traffic were before the Committee. But as the American delegate to the Committee pointed out, no facts were at hand as to whether there was "any international traffic in women and girls for purposes of prostitution, between what countries the traffic is being carried on, the methods used in procuring and transporting women and girls, and the effectiveness of national measures undertaken to eliminate the traffic." These questions, she urged, should be answered by a scientific determination of the facts. And over the objections of the French, Spanish, Japanese, and Roumanian delegates, who held that information should be sought only from official government sources, her motion was carried, and was approved by the Council of the League a few months later.

The Commission of experts appointed included an American, Dr. William F. Snow, who served as chairman; an Englishman, Mr. S. W. Harris, undersecretary of the British Home Office; a French, a Japanese, a Belgian, an Italian, and a Uruguayan member.

Since we have here the first investigation of this sort undertaken by the League, information being usually secured by the unsatisfactory method of questionnaires to governments, the methods used are of special interest. In the beginning the special body of experts agreed "that (a) the inquiries must be carried on only by trained and experienced persons; (b) each inquiry should relate to a limited area; (c) each inquiry should be detailed and thorough; (d) the inquiries should be begun as far as possible in cities and countries to which women are alleged to have been sent for purposes of prostitution" (p. 5).

The territory covered by the investigations included cities in Central, South, and North America, countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and "certain countries on the Baltic and North seas"—altogether "28 countries, in which 112 cities and districts were visited" and approximately 5,000 persons connected with commercialized prostitution were interviewed. Officials, private organizations, and individuals were also consulted. The information thus obtained is discussed under the following chapter headings: the "Character of the Traffic," the "Extent of the Traffic," the "Demand for Foreign Women," "Sources of Supply,"

"Traffickers and their Associates," "Routes of Traffic and Methods of Conducting Traffic," "Measures Taken to Prevent Traffic," "Growth of Public Opinion," and "Conclusions."

From these headings it may be gathered that a traffic was discovered. The report says, "No complete figures are available, but reliable information has been obtained . . . which justifies the belief that a traffic of considerable dimensions is being carried on." The main routes of the traffic were found to be from Europe, particularly Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Roumania, Spain, and Turkey, to South and Central America, particularly, Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Panama, and Uruguay, and to Egypt and other places in North Africa.

Part II, when and if it is made public, will make analysis of the problems of individual countries possible. Argentina, and especially Buenos Aires, seems from Part I to be the leading country of import, as France and Eastern Europe do of export. So far as the United States is concerned, we seem to have special obligations in Panama.

Among the conclusions of the Committee the following is of great importance and probably foretells the doom of the whole system of regulating prostitution in some of the important countries of continental Europe:

The existence of licensed houses is undoubtedly an incentive to traffic both national and international. The fact has been established by previous inquiries¹ and is admitted to be true by many governments as a result of their experience. The inquiries made by us not only confirm this fact but show, as other observers have remarked, that the licensed house becomes in some countries the center of all form of depravity (p. 47).

The League of Nations Committee on Traffic in Women and Girls can at last begin to work out a program of co-operation which will have a fact basis. The report is a document of international importance, and America has a right to be proud of it.

¹ See Abraham Flexner, *Prostitution in Europe* (New York, 1914).

